1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

IV.—DRESS.

● 291 The men of Ladák wear a cloak* of woollen, thick and warm. It is usually white, or rather it has once been white; for as the people only wash themselves once a year, and never wash their clothes, their cloaks are always of a dirty hue. Round their legs, from knee to ankle, they have coarse woollen leggings† (of felt), fitting tightly, or else wrapped close round the leg and secured by a garter,‡ which is wound spirally round the leg from the ankle upwards. The garter is generally black, but sometimes red. On their heads they wear either quilted skull-caps, as filthy as their cloaks, or caps of sheep-skin with the wool inside, and with a large flap behind, which covers the back of the neck as well as [565] the ears. Those in better circumstances have fur caps of the same shape. Their boots are of felt, with soles of sheep or goat-skin, which are turned up all round and sewn to the felt. The upper part of the felt boot is open to the front, and is allowed to fall over, something in the manner of the boots worn in England in Charles II.'s time. The lamas have red boots, and the others mostly have theirs ornamented with small bits of coloured cloth in the front.§

The Ladáki women wear a black woollen jacket with a large striped woollen petticoat of many colours, generally green, blue, red, and yellow, reaching below the mid-leg. Over all they wear a sheep skin with the wool inside, secured, or rather skewered, in front by a large

* The cloak is called *La-pa-sha*.

† The legging is called *rKang-Phying*.

‡ The garter is called *rKang-gDub*.

§ See Plates XVII. and XXIII. for the men's dress.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47)1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

● 291

Plate XVII

Zang-bo

Cha g

Men of PIN in SPITI

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

iron or brass needle. The poorer classes have the outside of the skin plain, but those in better circumstances cover it with coarse woollen baize, either red, blue, green, or yellow, with a broad border always of a different colour. The upper classes cover this sheep-skin cloak either with brocade or with silk. Their heads are always bare, the hair being arranged in a border of narrow plaits, which hang round the head like a long fringe. From the forehead, over the division of the hair, they all wear a long narrow band of cloth studded with coarse many-flawed turquoises, which hangs down behind as low as the waist, and is usually finished off with a tassel of wool or a bunch of cowrees. The ears are covered by semicircular woollen lappets, fastened to the hair and edged with brown or black fur, generally of the otter-skin, called Kunduz. These ear-flaps are always red, the inside being woollen, and the outside brocade. These are made coarse or fine according to circumstances; for the Ladáki women seem to pride themselves upon the style and material of these lappets just as much as European ladies do upon the fashion of their bonnets.*

The dancing-women wear similar dresses, but they sometimes also have long gowns, of different colours, instead of the jacket and petticoat. Their heads are always covered, either with a coloured and quilted skull-cap, or with a circular, flat-topped, stiff woollen hat, something like a short shako without a peak. These are ornamented with cornelians and turquoises.† All

* See Plates XV. XVI. XVIII. XIX. and XXII. for the women's dress of Kanáwar, Spiti, and Ladák.

† Plate XXII. Moorcroft, I. p. 328, remarks that "a Ladáki female in full costume would create no small sensation amongst the fashionable dames of a European capital."

E Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

291
301
142

Women of Lower KANAWARI

Kanet aged 30 LABRANG	Kanet 5 ft 0 1/4in.	Girl aged 18 LIPÉ

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

● 291
301

Women of Upper KANAWAR

Plate XVI

304b

Back View of Thajang

Thajang, aged 20
3 Husbands
HANGO

Landlord's Wife
SUNGNAM

Girl aged 14
LIYO

p. 304c

291
301

Height 4 ft 9
DANGKHAR
SPITI

Sangi Ram
SPITI

Height 4ft 10
SHE
in LADAK

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

●291
301

Landlords Wives

From NURLA in LADAK

[12]

414 BOLT--sHing kutik (lit. wood lock) Iron bolts are unknown to Ladákis.

291 BOOT--kapSHa the ordinary general term for a boot or shoe. The
195 respectful term is zhapSHa. There are separate names for different kinds of boots thus: "boot" means an English pattern boot "paboo" is the loose felt ankle boot of Ladák. "peypak" is the long felt jack boot of Yarkhand; "kapSHa" is the ordinary shoe of Hindustan; "mőza" is the long leather jack boot of Yarkhand; "soklam" is the cloth jack boot of Lhása and China, it is worn by lamas. "cháruk" these much prized boots come from Yarkhand, they are made of sheepskin or lambskin, the wool being left on, and worn inside. They are sometimes short, and sometimes come up to the knee.

554 [13] BOW TO--go kuk ches (to bow the head) joo cho ches (the
576 ordinary bow of salutation) sa kaney joo cho ches (the respectful bow of an inferior to a superior made by lowering one hand to the ground and then bringing it up to the forehead, which is lowered).
chhakphul táng ches (to join the palms of the hands before the breast as in an attitude of prayer, and to bow with the utmost humility, as in the presence of a king or deity).

262 BREAD--tagee is the ordinary term for the chupati of the country, or any other kind of baked or roasted bread, chhooSHul is the term applied to the uncooked dough Ladakis eat, when on a journey, or whenever they can not cook their food. It is made by mixing water into "satoo" which is the flour of beardless barley.

264 BREAKFAST--chheenan, (the small early breakfast, taken at dawn); tsáma or tsálma (the ordinary breakfast, taken about 8 or 10 o'clock).

291 BREECHES--patloon (of European pattern) Ladákis of both sexes invariably wear these under garments made of coarse patoo. The men's breeches are called "SHághos" meaning "flesh cover" or "kánghnam" meaning "leg patoo" they are cut the length of the wearer's leg and are loose from the

waist to the calf and then tight to the ankle. The women's garments are of two patterns, the one called "potdur" or "botdur" and the other "sulma." The former are wide and short, coming only down to the calf, where they are tucked inside a piece of felt worn like a gaiter. The latter are like the garments seen in India, loose from waist to knee, and then very tight and very long, lying in folds from the calf down to the ankle. Among the Buddhists of Ladák, a woman wears these garments of white patoo till she gives birth to a child, after which, she wears them of black patoo. Among the ArGHons[1] of Ladak, a woman wears white patoo trousers only till she is married, after which she wears black, 291● 851 563 585

[14]BRICK--páoo, this is the general term; it would be understood to mean the common sun-dried brick, which is made, not of clay, but of earth without the admixture of straw or any other binding substance. "Kaktsey páoo' is red or burnt brick, made of clay. These are seldom used, for owing to scarcity of wood they are expensive, and the rainfall in Ladák is so slight, that sun-dried bricks do very well. Once in 8 or 10 years heavy rain falls, and when this happens, nearly every house in the town of Leh becomes unfit for habitation, as the sun-dried bricks can't stand wet. 333 [132]

BRICK-LAYER--rtsikspon. As a matter of fact, in Ladák, the carpenters are the brick-layers. 463

BRIDE--pakma or pakmo. A woman in Ladák may become a bride at any age after 10. The usual age, both among Buddhists and Arghons[1] is from 14 to 18 years. Beauty in a bride is not much sought after among the Buddhists as they think beautiful brides are apt to become troublesome wives. The best bride is she who has the most property and is the best able to look after it. See also "Wife". 581 582 563

BRIDEGROOM--These are of two classes. Pakpho is the term for "bridegroom" as understood by Europeans. His age is usually from 14 to 20 years. Although the younger brothers of a bridegroom are entitled to share their eldest brother's wife, so long as they live under the same roof, they never figure as bridegrooms, and they take no part in the marriage ceremony. 582 590 585

[1] [Half-caste Mohammedans--Analyst]

day of the 10th month. The days of the week are seven in number and are named as follows:-- 805

za	Idáwa	or	Monday, or Planet Moon.
za	migmar	"	Tuesday, or Planet Mercury.
za	hlakspa	"	Wednesday, or Planet Venus.
za	phoorboo	"	Thursday, or Planet Mars.
za	pásang	"	Friday, or Planet Jupiter.
za	spenba	"	Saturday, or Planet Saturn.
za	ngeema	"	Sunday, or Planet Sun.

The Tibetans have no "hour" or smaller divisions of time.

CAP--teebi or the respectful word oozha. The black bag-like patoc cap which hangs down on one side is called "bot teep" and the close fitting cap, lined with lambskin, covering the ears is called gónda a gun cap is called topee or tubak i topee. for women's caps see "Head dress." 291 195

[18]

CARPET--stan general term for anything spread on the floor, as carpet or bedding. Satan the coarse Tibetan made woollen carpet zilcha (the Persian or Turkistan woollen carpet ras i stan cotton carpet balistan woolen carpet, chhálee floor cloth made of goats hair. Khuloo ditto of yaks hair. 352 513 286

CARRIAGE--giokSHang (Cart or palki) SHingsta khorto is the Lhása word for a horse cart or carriage Araba is the Turki word. There are no such conveyances in Ladák, where only ponies and coolies can be used. 492

khoorta (for Khooroo i sta) is the word for a baggage poney, and stáool that for a riding pony. For coolies there are different names. The professional load carriers of Kashmir and Baltistan are called "Khooroopa" or "burden men" but as the people of Ladak will never carry a load for hire, except under compulsion, a Ladák cooly is called "beygárpa" or "forced labourer" when employed to carry goods from place to place. An ordinary daily labourer who works voluntarily is called a "hlápa" or "wages man." 482 [466] 463

CASHIER--peyti-pa the only cashier in Ladák is the Wazir's Treasurer, who is termed the "peyti-pa." 645

[34]

583 DOWER--rinto or zho or in the case of Mahomedans "mehr." The sum of money paid by the bridegroom to the father or other nearest male relative of the bride. The goods given to a woman on her marriage, including what we should call her "trousseau," and "dot" is called "raktak".

534 DRUM--denjang the big drum--body of wood and played upon like our big drums; dolti a brass drum like a kettle drum; daman a kettle drum; daps a drum played with the hands like a tambourine; daroo a very peculiar little drum used by lámas when dancing. It is shaped like an hour-glass and held in the centre, short strings with small pieces of wood attached to their ends are fastened on at either end; and when the hand is shaken these pieces of wood come in contact with the parchment heads of the drum, and thus sound it. There being several strings at each end, the sound produced is rather that of a rattle than of a drum. Denjang (or dolti, etc.,) rdung ches to play the drum.

[792]

278 DRUNKARD--rárospa or ráros or rároskhan. The Ladákis can not be called drunkards. They all drink chhang[4] very freely, and frequently get very cheery in consequence, but even in their cups they are usually good tempered and harmless. They seldom get dead drunk. The expression zeekopkop chha ches signifies to be fuddled, or partially intoxicated.

439 386 [35]DYE--tshos the durable dyes of the country, rang the bright, but not fast, dyes imported from India.

136 825 EAGLE--lák. The Chinese or Lhasa pug dogs are called "lák khee" because it is believed that if a human being lays hands upon a young eagle, when freshly hatched, the bird is transformed into a dog of the Chinese pug breed.

●291 EAR FLAP--hnaslan or noslan. The woollen lappets worn by Ladáki women over their ears. In shape and size they resemble the blinkers worn by a carriage horse. They are edged with fur and are plaited into the hair.

731 823 EARTHQUAKE--samgul. Ladákis think that the earth is supported, in the midst of an ocean, on the back of a large fish, and that whenever this fish rolls about, earthquakes are felt. In LADAK THEY ARE ALMOST UNKNOWN.

4 [i.e., BARLEY BEER -- ANALYST]

776 god, and so on with the Gods of water (chhoo), wood (SHing),
779 fields (zhing), store houses (páng), wealth (nor), etc. Beys hla is the God watching over one when travelling in foreign parts, khar i hla is the patron god of a castle or palace, and zhis hla and khim hla and hláloo are the Ladáki household gods.

GODDESS--hlámo. There are very few goddesses, the chief are "yum" the mother of all Buddhas, and dorjey phakmo.

293 GOGGLES--migSHel any kind of glass spectacles, migra a kind of eye-preserver, made by Ladákis out of horse hair, twisted into a kind of fine net work and shaped like goggles.

●291 [54]GOWN--The ordinary dress of a Ladák woman consists of a patoo gown called "mo-GHos," in which the skirt and body are in one piece. A girdle or "skieyraks" is worn round the waist. On fair days and other great occasions they wear a petticoat, a [439] skirt striped with red, green and yellow. These are called "stakta" and cost about 20 rupees each, as they come from Lhása. A cheaper kind of holiday skirt called "thigma" is made of pattoo with flowers stamped in colours upon it.

343 GRANARY--giábang large, pánga a store room for grain, such as every cultivator keeps in his house.

764 GRAVE--romkhang Buddhist funeral pyre, kabar Muhammadan grave. The Christian burial ground at Leh is called "rom khang" but a grave (without a monument) is called thurthrot and "pangso" is the earth mound over a grave. Khakchan or nantan, important. Also tsher-rdong chhak ches, to look grave.

231 GREYHOUND--lingskhee. The word means "sporting dog," but it is applied more particularly to greyhounds, these [55] being the only kind of sporting dog known to Ladákis.

243 GRIM--nas or ngomdok, beardless barley or "grim". This is the
262 grain most in demand in Ladák. From it is made "satoo," which forms the food of the people, and "chhang," which is the national drink. It ripens at greater altitudes than other grains, (i.e., close up to 15,000 feet above the sea), it ripens more quickly, and it requires less manure.

776 The former word means haunted by an unembodied spirit, the latter means haunted by the spirit of a living person.

●291 301 HEAD DRESS--kasába the red turban worn by ArGHon women, generally adorned with a turquoise-studded silver or gold ornament, called "joogin" fastened above the centre of the forehead. dáón the white sheet worn over the kasába, covering the whole of it, except a band across the forehead, and coming down behind as far as the waist. peyrak the broad stiff leather, turquoise studded head-dress worn, always by Buddhist women of Ladák, and occasionally by ArGHon women. The size of the peyrak depends upon the wealth of the owner--a good one is perhaps 10 inches wide at the top and 3 feet long, and worth Rs. 300. The ordinary peyrak is perhaps 4 inches wide and 24 inches long, and worth about 50 rupees. When a woman is young she invests her worldly wealth in turquoises, which she fastens on to her peyrak. Later on, when her eldest daughter marries, most of these turquoises are given to her as a dowry. The turquoises used for this purpose come from China. They are large flattish stones of a greenish colour and [59] full of flaws. Even a good one is worth only about 50 rupees.

[554] [583] [439]

784 291 In former days the Buddhists had a prejudice against the kasába and dáón, and they would not allow any woman wearing this head-dress, to come upon their fields, the prejudice has now almost entirely died out.

798 HEATHEN--The Ladákis have no such word, they would speak of a person as belonging to a certain religion. If they wished to say he was an atheist, they could apply to him the word "armen-dirmen".

779 772 HEAVEN--namkha the region or space above us--the sky--where the birds are flying and the saints are soaring, where it lightens and thunders, etc.--the ether--as the fifth element (vide Jaschke's Dict. p. 303) zhingkham or thóris or ótsál the everlasting abode of the spirits of the pious or of those who have atoned for their sins by remaining in hell for a certain time. The Buddhist heaven is not like the Christian heaven--indeed it is hard to say what it is supposed to be like, for it must be remembered that for a Buddhist to speak of "going to heaven" is equivalent to his speaking of "attaining nirvána" (which see). Tibetans of the

WT 291 LEGGING--kángphees or kángpheeng (meaning, properly speaking, the felt leggings worn by Ladákis, but also used for leather gaiters, and Kashmir patties).

WT 426 [88]
LEND TO--skinba táng ches or respectfully karkeen sal ches (to lend money, etc., not on interest), bulon táng ches or phar la hmul tang ches (to lend money on interest) dres la nas táng ches (to lend grain on interest. The rate charged is always "sowái," that is to say, for every 4 lent, 5 have to be paid at the next harvest), yár ches or yártey táng ches (to lend anything, when the thing itself has to be returned to its owner).

T 101 631 WT 631 LHASA--Ladákis usually speak of the town as Hlása, but the correct name is Lhása ("Lha" means "a god" or "fairy" and "sa" stands for "sakiat," which means "place.") The country subject to the Lhasa authorities is also spoken of as "Lhása country." As a matter of fact, the country in question, consists of four provinces, viz., on the east "Kham," (meaning "side") then comes Oo (spelt "U" in our maps and meaning "centre") in, which is the town of Lhása, then comes "Tshang" (meaning "pure,") and then comes what was once Ngarees-khorsum (see under "Ladák.") Prior to the Dogra conquest of Ladák, the Ladákis used to look upon the Lhása Government as all powerful in things temporal, and spiritual. It is still regarded with great awe by Ladákis.

T 642 648 115 The Lhása Government, its constitution, and the extent to which it is subject to Chinese guidance, is a subject of which but little is generally known, and the following information, obtained by me from the SkooSHok (avatár) of Speetuk, and other persons who have resided at Lhása, may therefore be of interest, and is inserted accordingly, though beyond the ordinary scope of this work, which professes to deal only with Ladák or Western Tibet.

In olden days, Lhasa was governed by Kings, who to some extent were under the influence of China, but, according to Markham, Chinese power was first definitely established in Lhása in 1720, when resident Political Agents were appointed. In 1749 an insurrection against the Chinese broke out, which ended in favour of the Chinese, and resulted in the establishment, at Lhása of Lobzong Kalsang the sixth Dalái Láma, with two Chinese "Ambáns" or "Residents," to assist him in the administration of the affairs of the country.

T 642 Since then no fundamental change in the constitution of the Lhása

tonkhan (as one who is a leper or notorious rascal). 000

[115]PAGAN--The Ladákis have no such a word in their vocabulary. Buddhists are called "Nángpa" or "insiders", while those of other religions are called Hindoos, or, as the case may be. Mahomedans are called "Pheepa" or "outsiders", and atheists are called "Armendirnen". 798

[116]PARENT--ába (eldest father); ágoo (other fathers); ámá (mother). 601

[117]PATRON--giápsten (friend); eedam or yeedam (patron saint or tutelar divinity)--nearly every Ladáki has a "yeedam" of his or her own selection. 776 572

[118]PAWN-BROKER--bundak or norrdak (money-lender); tshongpa (merchant). The money-lenders and merchants are the pawn-brokers of Ladák. 426 448

PELISSE--hlóGHor or hióGHor. Ladáki ladies, when in full dress, nearly always wear a pelisse or cloak of scarlet and green cloth, lined with white lambskin. A rich person ornaments the cloak with heavy silver ornaments at throat, neck, and shoulders. Hlokpa is the goatskin cloak worn by the labouring classes, both men and women, to protect the back. But see "Cloak." 291 565 301

[119]PERAMBULATE TO--skora skor ches. The Ladakis, in so far as they are addicted to religious observances, which is not a great deal, attach considerable importance to circum-ambulation, combined with prostrations, as a means of obtaining a forgiveness of their sins. 788

PERQUISITE--thoptáng signifies legal perquisite, such as the grain given by [120] villagers at harvest time to the village blacksmiths or other village servants. The respectful word is "chhak rsten" or "zhoo rsten" signifying "offering" or "petition present"; phaksup signifies an "illegal perquisite," i.e., bribe. 675 195 662

[120]
PETTICOAT--SHamthap, the red petticoat worn by Lámas of both 792 291

red and yellow sects. The women of Ladák do not wear petticoats. Their dress consists of patoo trousers and a patoo garment in which bodice and skirt or petticoat are joined together. The skirt part of this garment is called "hmadGHak" or hmad-yok", and the bodice part "stotGHak."

PHANTOM--hlandey or hlandrey--the name of a class of spirits, supposed to appear in various forms, and then to suddenly vanish out of sight; zumthhrul or zumthhul or chhumthhrul or chhumthhul, as a mirage; namSHet or namSHes, the ghost of a dead person; SHeelok, one returned from the dead. But see "Resurrection."

PHYLACTERY--srunga or SHunga. The Buddhists of Ladák obtain from their Lámás, extracts, or texts, from their sacred books, printed on paper or longcloth, etc., these they enclose in a silver or copper casket (kabzóma) worn like a locket. The poorest people wrap them up in paper and tie them to a string worn round the neck or waist. [121] The men sometimes fasten them to their caps, and the women to their headdresses (peyrak). A Buddhist never wears a charm on his arm or wrist as a Hindoo or Mahomedan might do.

[121]

PILGRIMAGE--hnasjal or jala. Ladakis go on pilgrimages to Trilóknath, the Manasarwar lake, Jowála Mukhi and other places of Hindoo pilgrimage.

PIPE--kanzak, or respectfully zhalzak, a tobacco pipe with a straight stem, about 10 inches long, and with small round bowl. They are made of brass or iron, and sometimes silver plated. This is the pipe of the traveller and of the villagers. Townspeople use the Indian pipe which they call "cheelam" or "gurguri cheelam." The Baltistán pipe, which is also used by Ladakis, is called "roocho-cheelam," or respectfully "doncheelam" "poori" a pipe for conducting water, etc.; "oldong" the windpipe.

[123]POLYANDRY--There is no word for this. Polyandry is almost universal among the Buddhists of Ladak. For further information, see under the heading "Marriage." It is said that polyandry induces leprosy, but in Ladak the disease is unknown, though

receive "tamchhoo" (meaning "binding water") from the hands of the priest, and this they reverently drink. 788

SACRIFICE TO--skoorim cho ches (to perform the sacrificial rites); chhotpa phul ches (to offer up a sacrifice). The taking of life is contrary to the Buddhist religion, live animals are therefore not slaughtered in the ordinary sacrificial manner. If a Buddhist wishes to offer an animal as a sacrifice, he dedicates it to the gods and leaves it at the monastery. This is termed "tshey thar la tạng ches;" all such animals are kept on the monastery lands, doing nothing for the rest of their lives. Another kind of sacrificial offering consists of satoo, dyed blood-red (by means of the juice extracted from the root of a medicinal herb known as "dreemok") and kneaded, and made into a particular shape and crowned with a cone of butter. It is then termed a "chhotpa." 782 779 792

SAIL--The "sails" of the Chángtháng windmills are of wood, scooped out like a ladle, "(they are called hlungsskor-i-SHokpa"). 000

SALUTE TO--joo (or zhoo) zăr ches, or respectfully chhak phul ches. When equals meet, each says "joo" or "joojoo"; if one is of slightly lower rank, he says "joo ley" and receives the answers "joo." "Salami" is the term for a military salute, and also for a guard of honour. Phiemdong táng (or pheeng) ches is to come out to salute, as the Lámás and women and musicians of a village come out to salute any person of rank passing [141] through their village. The Lámás come with their sacred musical instruments, the women with offerings of milk, satoo, ghee, chhang, and incense, and the musicians with drums and clarionets. 554 195 576 792 533

[141]

SASH--palthar (a kind of sash-like belt for holding a sword); palthar táng ches (to wear such a sash); skieyr (kasa kind of waist-band worn by both sexes). The women, in addition to the skieyraks, wear a kind of sash, called a "yok-skieyraks," and from this hangs a collection of ornaments, termed "ldócha," consisting of cowries, needles, pins, a knife, spoon, purse, etc., etc. The brass rosette-like ornament worn on the "yok-skieyraks" is called a "ldólen." 291 301

262 SAUSAGE--tshilkham or náng. A Tibetan sausage is made of mutton or goats' flesh and highly flavoured.

331 SCAFFOLDING-- Wood is too valuable in Ladák to admit of ordinary scaffolding being used during the building of a house, etc., and the builders seem to get on very well, though using only rough ladders (SHaska) and high trestles (SHingtee).

871 777 [142]SCHOOL--hloptá-kháng. With the exception of the Moravian Mission School at Leh, there is no regular school of any kind in Ladák.

792 794 788 [144]SERMON--The Buddhist priests do not preach sermons, they confine themselves to reading the scriptures. To read the scriptures aloud to a congregation is called "máney skul ches," and the reader, who need not necessarily be a Lámà, is called "Màneypa." The reader intones, and as he comes to the end of each sentence, he pauses, and the congregation slowly chants the mystic syllables "aum ma nee pat mey hung," pronounced om máni-padme hum. The congregation cannot understand the language of the scriptures, and does not care to do so, as Ladákis consider that it is the duty of the priests to look after such matters for them.

● 291 195 SHAWL--tsádir or tsazar or respectfully namtsar (a shawl); staktra (the small square shawl worn by Ladák women, either as an apron or hanging under one [145] arm; it is generally made of a check pattern, either in wool or cotton).

231 SHEEP--luk (general); roobo (entire); luk (castrated); lugmo or móluk (ewe); lugoo (lamb); phólaks or thongpa (a fine fat castrated sheep ready for killing); chángluk (the large load-carrying sheep of Chángtháng).

439 435 [146]SILVER INGOT--These come only from China. Some are imported to Léh viá Lhása, but most of them come via Yárkhand. The Tibetan word for an ingot is rdótsat or starmikma, but the Turki words "koorus" or "koors" and "yámboo" are also used. The ordinary koors is worth from ₹ 165 to ₹ 170. There are also smaller ingots, called "yámikma" (value ₹32) and "lugmikma" (value ₹16).

•291
145

/Following page 32/

Tibetan children

5: Ribbach--28 b. M-5 (no date) 1940 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

/Following page 32/

●291
142
4
352

Inhabitants of Ladakh.

does not starve and that the little lamb does not die of hunger either. 583
You gentlemen! Bring the rope over here please!" 584

Norpel and Ishe Lhundrub, the two uncles of the girl, then got up and put up a rope right across the entire living room fastening its ends to the main beams of the ceiling. Then they went with mother Deskyid into an adjoining provision room and soon came back laden with clothes, women's ornaments and all kinds of household utensils. The clothes were partly made of Tibetan cloth colored wine red, and [291] partly of blue, green, brown or black European cloth, satin or muslin; there also shone forth the sleeveless fur covering decorated with red and green cloth, colored sashes each from two to three meters long, the shirts with the very long sleeves, trousers whose legs resembled pipes of about one and one-half meter's length, and--the prize possession and the pride of the bride--the perag, the head ornament with many [301] turquoises and many little silver and guilded amulet containers and capsules covered with colored semi-precious stones. All these things were hung up on the rope and especially the perag was hung in such a way that everyone could see and admire it. The rest of the rich ornaments, the necklace of corals and silver decoration, the earrings, the shoulder pendants and the like, the mother displayed on two little tables placed in readiness for the purpose. Next to this were placed in [291] an orderly row the shoes, delicate Indian pointed shoes, next to more clumsy Tibetan shoes made of colored cloth. Furthermore they put [415] down there the handleless copper cooking pots which are tin-plated on the inside, the copper dishes and plates, the wooden cylinder with the mallet in it for the mixing of butter tea, and the tea strainer woven out of hard, wire-like grass (45), as well as all the other household

45. The botanical name of the grass is Kobresia tibetica. [137]

and kitchen utensils. That is the bride's ragt'ag (46), the bride's rope

46. Along with the form rag-t'ag there also exists the form ras-t'ag which is apparently connected with "ras," meaning "linen cloth," "garment." Often the bride's rope is simply called "t'ag-pa" (meaning "rope") for short.

or the trousseau rope which is here put on display in order to be able to measure the purchasing price of the bride, the "price of the mother milk," in accordance with it. The two uncles of the bride very

5: Ribbach--72 a M-5 (no date) 1940 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

/Following page 76/

532
291

Tibetan women in Ladakh

(Original Tibetan drawing).

monastery. An old lama has told Namgyal that in this shape the great Merciful One had quite special power, and that his compassion knew no bounds. With more than a thousand eyes (aside from the ordinary eyes each of the eleven faces has a third one on its forehead, and in each palm of the hand is another eye) the Redeemer looks with infinite compassion upon the suffering living creatures in the six worlds, all the way down into hell; and there the thousand strong arms are also out-stretched to save and to release. And all this, Namgyal was told, the great Merciful One did from pure mercy; no special efforts were necessary, and no special virtuous performances on the part of the person to be released. Thus Namgyal had great expectations especially for this procession of supplication. 789

After some waiting the men are finally all gathered together in the snow-covered wilderness at the foot of the mountain on which the monastery stands. There are some /138/ highly-placed persons among them, two gentlemen of the nobility, a few officials from the Wasarat (the office of the Wasir), farmers, small-holders, and day-laborers: a colorful company. Some of the day-laborers had been hired by the rich to come along in exchange for payment. Credit and profit was to accrue to the givers of money for this. The well-to-do are dressed in warm, caftan-like cloth coats; some of them even wear a thick sheep's skin on top of this. The poor try, as best they can, to protect themselves against the penetrating cold of the early morning by at least putting on two quite ragged coats, one over the other, and a goat's skin which they hang over their backs with its hairy side on the inside. [291]

In silence the men arrange themselves in the prescribed order for the procession; at the head is the local magistrate of a neighboring village, who is considered a particularly pious person and who is skilled in the reciting of the prayers. All eyes now turn towards the monastery up on top of the mountain in which stands the image of the sPyan-ras-gzig, the great Merciful One, well-known to all. The man at the head of the procession begins to pray and all the others join him with prayers (136): "Thou, Oh ruler with the thousand arms, who leadest the cycle

136. The first prayer goes as follows in Tibetan:

P'yag stoń ak'or-lo sgyur-bai rgyal-po ston/
Spyan stoń bskal-pa bzań-po sańs-rgyas ston/
Gań-la gań ston de-la de ston-pa/
Ston-pa spyan-ras gzigs-la p'yag t'sal-lo.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, B. Social and Religious Life.

Láhaul. The furniture in a Spiti house has a general resemblance to that in a Láhaul one, but tubs and pails, the woodwork of which comes from Basáhir, are much used, and the churn for beating up the tea with salt and butter is never missing.

Food.

The Spiti men buy old cattle from the Láhaulis, and slaughter them in the autumn to furnish the larder for the six months of winter. In Láhaul cattle are not slaughtered now-a-days (except perhaps in some villages at the head of the Bhága valley, and there it is done with the greatest secrecy); but five or six sheep are killed in each house at the beginning of the winter: the flesh dries, and will then keep good for any number of years: the older the meat, the greater the delicacy to the taste of a Láhauli. The principal food of the Láhauli is buck-wheat, boiled whole and eaten as gruel, or roasted and made into flour, which is then baked into cakes or mixed with *cháng* beer, and formed into dumplings. Parched barely-flour made into porridge is the every-day food in Spiti. It is also eaten boiled with butter and green herbs into a kind of soup; wheaten-flour is generally eaten in this way in Láhaul. Butter and butter-milk are regular articles of diet in both countries. *Cháng*, a kind of beer brewed from rice and barley, is drunk generally, and tea and a kind of whisky by those who can afford it. All the people of Láhaul will eat sheep that have died a natural death; and Dágis (Lehri) Lehaís and Barárars will eat dead cows and bullocks; but it is said that the Hesis will not. Green food is never cultivated, though many wild plants and herbs are eaten as vegetables. Potatoes were introduced by the missionaries and are now grown in considerable quantity.

Dress of Láhaul and Spiti.

In Spiti the ordinary dress of the men consists of a skull-cap, a long loose frock or coat of thick woollen cloth girt in at the waist by a long and broad sash, and a pair of boots, with leathern soles and cloth tops reaching to and gathered below the knee. Some who can afford it wear also a silk or cotton under-coat; the coat is generally the natural colour of the wool; the other articles are red, or red and black. Every man wears a loose necklace of rough lúmps of turquoise, amber, and other stones mixed with coral beads. A bright iron pipe and a knife in sheath are stuck in his belt, from which hang also by steel chains his *chakmak*, or flint and steel, and tinder-box, a metal spoon, and a bunch of the most fantastically shaped keys. In the fold of his coat next the skin he carries a wooden or metal drinking cup, a tobacco pouch, some parched barley-meal, and other odds and ends. Many wear their hair plaited into a tail like Chinamen. If of a serious tone (a professing Buddhist, to adopt a phrase used among some Christians), he will never go out without a prayer-wheel in one hand, and a religious book or two slung on his back, and repeats the *Om máni* at every pause in the conversation. The monks, when not engaged in religious functions, go bare-headed, and wear a rosary of beads* instead of a necklace: the cut of their coat and boots is the same, but the cloth is dyed either red or yellow. Astrologers dress in red from head to foot. The women wear a coat, sash, and boots like the men, but the coat is always of a dark colour; they also wear

* These beads are sometimes bits of a human skull, on the *memento mori* principle.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

loose red trowsers, the ends of which are tucked into the boots, and a shawl over their shoulders; they go bare-headed, and wear their hair in a number of small plaits which hang down the back. On the top of their heads the married women wear a *pirák* or silver ornament from which depend strings of beads on both sides of their faces, and long tails of leather studded with coarse turquoises. The girls wear only a single turquoise threaded on the hair near the parting: this, like the snood in Scotland, is a sign of their being unmarried. In winter both sexes wear great-coats made of sheep skin with the wool on. In Láhaul the dress of the men is much the same as that worn in Kúlu, the only difference being that the coat is longer and of thicker and darker cloth, and that trowsers are always worn; the women, on the other hand, dress like those of Spiti, except that straw sandals replace the long boots. It is not easy at first to distinguish a Láhauli nun, if young, from a lad, as they shave their heads and dress like men.

Horse-racing and shooting with the long bow are amusements common to both Láhaul and Spiti, and are practised at meetings held at particular seasons. Prizes are given at the races, and the rider of the last horse is subjected to a good deal of ridicule and practical jocking. The target at an archery meeting consists generally of a pillar of snow with a leaf for a bull's eye. The archers excite themselves by treating the pillar as an effigy of some traditional tyrant, and cry out "let the Rana of Ghúsa have it in the goitre" or "give the Kárdang *nanlang*, one in the eye." Stakes of cash or grain are shot for.* Both Spiti men and Láhaulis have almost always got dice about them, with which they amuse themselves by gambling at odd moments. Evening parties are common enough, at which much *cháng* or beer is drunk, and men and women dance a kind of quadrille or country dance together in a very brisk and lively fashion to the music of flageolets and tambourines played by the *Bedas*.

In Láhaul as in Kúlu generally only one family lives in one house. The average number of souls is 5·7 per house and 5·5 per family. In Sára, that is the valley of the Bhága, it is common for several brothers to live together; but separation is becoming more common. In Pattan, where Hindúism prevails, division is the rule of the Spiti family. Mr. Anderson writes as follows:—

"The number of souls per house is only 3·6, and per family 3·3. This is the result of the peculiar custom prevailing in Spiti by which the eldest son on his marriage ousts his father from the 'big house' and is himself ousted in return. Primogeniture prevails in Spiti; and the eldest son in the father's lifetime succeeds to the ancestral property, and becomes responsible for the revenue and other burdens incidental to its possession. The younger brothers go to the ancestral cell in the *gonpa* (or monastery), where they are entitled to maintenance. Should a *lámá's* (or monk's) elder brother die without issue, he may resign the priesthood and take possession of the ancestral house. The eldest son has to give up to his father two or three fields by way of maintenance. I was told that it was considered no hardship for the father thus to resign in his son's favour. This custom has given rise to the following names":—

* Formerly the bow was the weapon both of war and of the chase in these countries. Mr. Lyall remembers meeting in Spiti a man from Great Tibet who carried a very well made and powerful sling as a weapon of defence.

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the Mongol characteristics. They[1] were inclined to be squat, their noses flat, their foreheads high. They parted their hair in the middle, tying it at the back in a tight knot. Their hair, shiny with the oil from apricot pits, was adorned by headdress. One wore a white egg-shaped pin (*poshel*) at the top of her forehead; the [illegible] yellow egg-shaped pins on her temples. Each had long earrings of gold and several bracelets of silver on each wrist. They were barefooted, their toes gnarled like talons, and they walked with ease on gravel on which I would not have been able to take one step. They wore long black dresses of coarse wool, dresses with tight-fitting sleeves and bodices and large full skirts.

The mother did most of the talking; and I noticed that as she talked the other woman became coy, holding the corner of a gray wool shawl to her mouth.

The status of Lahuli women is different from that of Kulu women. They carry the full burden of the house and the main burden of the fields. The men plow in the spring and help out with the harvest in the fall. The rest of the time they sit under a tree and watch the women hoe, cultivate, and weed. And when the wheat or barley is cut, it is the women who carry it in baskets or slings on their backs to the threshing floor and winnow out the grain. Lahul is indeed a man's world. Kulu women, who, as I have said, enjoy a large degree of equality, therefore do not like to marry Lahuli men. A Lahuli woman likes to escape her drudgery and marry a Kulu man. A Kulu marriage is indeed the ambition of Lahuli girls. That is the way my cook, Budh Ram, got his lovely wife. She had come across Rothang Pass one day, and Budh Ram soon claimed her as a bride.

These Lahuli women, like the other Trans-Himalayan girls described in Kamal, *Land without Laughter*, though in an inferior social position, have a large degree of independence in their sexual relations. We would call them promiscuous. Budh Ram bashfully told me one day, "The Lahuli girls will run, but it is easy to catch them."

[1] [i.e. Lahuli women— ANALYST]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

[Facing p 64]

133

At Rothang Pass it seemed that I was on the threshold of another world—a world where magic played the major role, where one in quiet meditation could contact the spirits that occupy a place existing far above the earth.

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The women of Gya were giggling as they started to sing. The song is a take-off on a man accused of being a lama. The man's name is Tashiwangyal and he is the singer.

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The Gya singers were accompanied by an orchestra of two musicians.

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Budh Ram bashfully told me one day, "The Lahuli girls will run, but it is easy to catch them."

Building my bridge at Koksar was a community project.

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[Facing p. 65]

Buddhism entered Lahul from the south in the eighth century. In the twelfth, Tibetan Buddhism, with its trappings of Lamaism, came down from the north. About the same time, Aryan Hinduism came up from the south. These two religions lived peacefully side by side and together wiped out the earlier nature worship and its ugly practice of human sacrifices.

Though I said that Lahul, in its relation to India, is a foreign land, it would perhaps be more accurate to say that Lahul is an in-between land owing its allegiance to India, its culture to Tibet. But the political ties are winning out. Today Lahulis are even taking Indian names so as to have better standing along the trade routes that tie more tightly to India with each passing year.

The features of the Lahuli people, particularly the women, are oriental. The women wear dark, tight-fitting trousers over which is a coarse, long-sleeved dress, tight at the waist and having a full skirt. They carry the load of work in the fields, as I have said. The day I reached Kyelang there were a few men plowing with a dzo (a cross between a yak and a cow). They were singing plaintive folk songs as they worked. But a deep silence hung over most of the fields, where the women were cultivating. Each was bent low, swinging a short-handled adz with an easy rhythm. Later in the day they came in from the fields with huge bundles of barley and buckwheat tied in slings and thrown over their shoulders. Others had on their backs large woven baskets, looking like inverted cones and filled with grass and vegetables. Now they walked stooped and bent, like old crippled people. But when I came on them suddenly, they giggled like schoolgirls, showing beautiful white teeth.

These Lahulis, who in all respects are dominantly Tibetan, are looked down upon by the real Tibetans. One reason for it is that the Lahuli is a half-breed. India has touched him and affected him. It has to a degree diluted his Tibetan blood and altered his Tibetan culture. He stands somewhere in between two ancient peoples, not passionately a part of either. Tibetans, therefore, consider Lahulis inferior.

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Camp is made at night wherever there are water and grass. The men lie out in rock cairns. Their heavy woolen clothes are their night clothes too. They sleep on the ground, and are gone in the morning when the sky first turns to gray. They streak across high basins on a fast canter, climb the steepest pass with hardly a pause, and walk downhill, leading the saddle ponies.

I had seen my first Tibetans at Patseo—men, women, and boys in charge of salt caravans. As I related earlier, I saw my first armed and fast-riding Tibetans at Serchu. I kept seeing them day after day, going like the wind on their tiny ponies, taking short cuts across uncharted mountains, or eating their *sattu* and drinking their *gur gur cha* at their camps on sparsely green meadows. They would always be gone by daylight, moving fast and mysteriously, covering more ground in a day than we would often cover in three with our pack train. They had none of the conveniences of travel—no air mattresses, no tents, no canned food, no medical kit. But they could go with the wind, be swallowed up in deep canyons, streak like lightning along a high ridge, climb to the steepest pass, pick their way down rocky defiles, and shortly be cantering across a basin remote and isolated from all trails.

That is the way postmen in Ladakh have traveled from time immemorial. The head of each village furnishes a carrier to carry the mail from his village to the next one. And so it goes on horseback, twenty to thirty-five miles a day and, in emergencies, even farther.

That is the way I want to travel Central Asia. Being bogged down with a pack train has its disadvantages.

I briefly experienced that kind of travel when Tashi took us out of Koksar. I rode most of the way from Gundala to Kyelang, keeping ahead of the pack train, racing along the narrow trail that threads along the Chandra. My pony and I traveled fast, and I felt for once the joy of a good horse under me and Central Asia and its vast reaches out in front.

Most of the way to Leh, Rahul and I traveled with the mule

000 train. There was one other exception, when we traveled from Pagmur to Leh with Nehru's horsemen.

133 About eight miles below Pagmur at a place called Zara we got
361 horses and yaks. Zara is a barren, rolling basin that lies at the confluence of three bleak valleys. There is no mark of habitation at Zara except a few tents. Zara is indeed only a rendezvous for the goatherds of Rupshu—a region as remote from civilization and even from caravans as any place in Central Asia, an area inhabited by migrating tribes who have and enforce their own law quite independently of the central government at Leh.

136 Rupshu has large, fat marmots (called wild dogs by the natives), who peer curiously at all travelers. They pop in and out of their holes, running awkwardly. Then they stand and whistle in
[825] a tantalizing manner. The natives believe the marmot has the soul
[754] of a man who is mischievous and malicious. The fat is used externally for rheumatism.

Rupshu also has some geese and ducks, the burrhl or blue sheep, the big-horned *Ovis ammon*, a snow cock, and gazelles. Big brown wolves raid the flocks of the miserably poor people, called Rupshupa or Changpa, who roam its almost barren basins and ridges.

137 This area has bunch grass, the mossy *burtse*, the low *dama* bush, and a small sage-colored bush that the Tibetans call *jyapshen*. But one takes a long step between clumps of grass. The mark of
735 overgrazing lies heavily on Rupshu. The mark of poverty is on
511 the people and their possessions, as well as on the land. Their
[291] brown pup-like tents are often in tatters. The Rupshupa go barefoot, wrapped in heavy brown coats that reach to their ankles. The black hair of men and women alike hangs in a tangled mass down their foreheads and necks. Their skin has ground in it the dust of hundreds of storms, and they carry the look of people who have not bathed for months on end.

000 We met the Rupshupa at Zara on a small piece of green meadow by a clear-water brook that comes down from the east.

[* Of the marmot--Analyst]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

minutes or so he was at the waterfall below us, making camp and 000
starting a small fire with the *dama* bush which he rooted up with his hands from the canyon wall.

In another ten minutes a woman turned the bend on the trail and shortly joined the man. She too had a pack; and after resting a moment she untied it, pulled out a kettle and some food, got water from the cliff, and started supper. In perhaps a half hour another woman appeared far down the trail. She was long in coming, for she stopped every fifty feet or so and rested. She too had a pack, and as she got nearer I noticed that it pressed heavily on her. When she rested she sat on the high bank bordering the trail, leaned forward, shifting the weight of the pack, and rested her head on her hands.

Before the second lady reached the waterfall, another man appeared far down the trail; and when these two joined the other couple, I went down for a visit.

Tibetans usually look younger than they are. To me the two 145
men appeared to be in their late thirties or early forties. The younger woman, short and stocky with a square, pleasant face, looked thirty-four. The other lady, who had lost many of her teeth and had a deeply wrinkled face toughened by sun and storm, was well over seventy. She wore heavy trousers and a skirt which was 291
part of a black wool dress with long sleeves. These clothes were heavy, for they served not only as protection against the weather, but as night clothes too. She had a moccasin-type shoe made of sheepskin, and over her shoulders she wore a shawl of the same material, which protected her back from the rain and served as a pillow or covering at night. It was the only blanket she had. To this point the old lady and the young one were dressed alike. But the old lady, unlike the younger one, had a distinctive headdress 291
known as the *perakh*. A *perakh* is a piece of leather six or eight 301
inches wide and about two feet long that is worn on the head. It runs from the forehead down the back of the neck to the shoulders. It is inlaid with stones, usually jade and turquoise. The

291 Queen of Ladakh (who is titular only now that Ladakh is a part
301 of Kashmir) is reported to have the most valuable *perakh* in this part of the world. But the one worn by the old lady at Chakchu seemed fancy enough. Its jade and turquoise were not polished, but they were well proportioned. Some were as large as fifty-cent pieces, some the size of quarters; others were circular and still others were cut into odd and irregular shapes.

291 The old lady also wore huge side flaps made of black wool, which looked like gargantuan ear muffs and stood out like sails. From a distance they made the woman look like a wolf. The *perakh* and the side flaps are typical Ladakh headdress. I never traced the origin of the *perakh*. But legend has it that the side flaps go back to articles designed for an ancient queen of Ladakh who had the earache. The flaps not only cured the earache; they proved to be so decorative that they became part of the conventional headdress.

164 I no sooner reached the camp of these Ladakhis than the old lady lay on her side and started to moan. I inquired if she were ill. She was; so I sent Man Das up to our camp to fetch my medical kit.

While he was gone I made my diagnosis. The old lady had perhaps a degree or two of fever and a splitting headache caused, I believe, by her supreme exertion at high altitudes under a burn-
484 ing sun. This old woman, her daughter, her son-in-law, and her neighbor lived near Leh. Last June, as soon as the passes were open, they started on foot to Manali, a trek of about 240 miles.

"Why did you go?" I asked.

"To do some shopping and to visit friends."

"Did you reach Manali?"

"Yes, and now we are returning home."

"How long will it take you?"

"Perhaps a month."

"What did you buy?"

"Talcum powder and hair oil."

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

593 595 184 agreement was made that she [illegible] be the wife of only the one son. Thus are the rights of women being gradually asserted in this ancient, feudal system.

593 I visited a polyandric family in the village of Sankar, a mile or so north of Leh. It was a family of one wife, one child, and two husbands. Dombos was the name—Stobldan Dombos being the older brother; Tashi Dondrup Dombos, the younger; Nyangyal, the wife. They were a farm family with a few *kanals* of land under cultivation. Their house is a two-storied mud-and-stone affair with two rooms downstairs and one up. The bedroom is upstairs; and I discovered that Stobldan and Tashi Dondrup have a working rule governing the sharing of the wife. The one who is demanding her undivided attention leaves his shoes outside the closed bedroom door.

This was a gay, happy family. Nyangyal, tall and thin and with languid eyes, was eager to be photographed. The brothers were glad to co-operate. The atmosphere of the home was relaxed, not tense. Both brothers were hoping there would be more children on the way soon.

I visited the Gyalang family in Leh. This, again, is a family of one wife, Nordzin, and two husbands, Phuntzog the older and 465 Pamba the younger. They are as poor as church mice. Phuntzog makes sixty rupees (about twelve dollars) a month running the mail down to Spitok from Leh. They have a few *kanals* of land • 291 which Pamba attends to. All of them are dressed in rags. Phuntzog and Pamba wore the typical Ladakhi dress. Their wool coats were loose, coarsely woven, and dyed red. Each had a dirty sash around his waist. Their stockings were of felt and knee-length. Their hats were a cap-like headdress with flaps on two sides that cover the ears in winter. Nordzin's dress (her only one) was a typical Ladakhi dress—coarse black wool with high neck, long sleeves, 515 full skirt. She never washes the dress. She takes it off at night, 735 and in the winter uses it as extra bedding. Sometimes she will hang it outside at night to rid it of lice. The day I took her picture

[illegible] Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJC W. Tibetans A-4

192

Bakula is a Yellow Sect lama whose soul has been traced back beyond Buddha.

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142

The Ladakhis are poor people—poor in the strictest sense in which we use the word.

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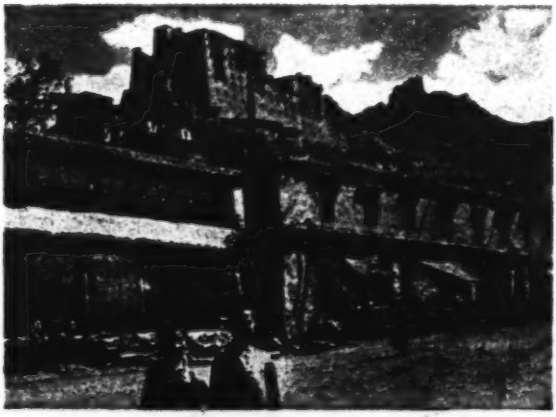

The castle of the King of Ladakh still stands. But it is today empty—filled with cobwebs, bats, and the memories of an ancient power that events have transferred to other hands.

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Zila played the daps and sang of love in a sad and melancholy voice.

[facing p. 192]

3.4

Leh is the ancient capital of Ladakh, with narrow, winding streets made for caravans, not cars.

Jigmet, the headman of Upshi, is the richest man in the village.

•271

[facing p. 198]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

735 an annual cash income of eighty dollars a year per family. But
511 that is far above what the average Ladakhi family will have in a year.

[342] At Upshi, where we first touched the Indus River, we stayed with the headman of the village, Jigmet. Jigmet's house has two stories. It is made of stone and mud with rafters of poplar wood. The ceilings are about six feet high. The floors are mud. The roof is flat, constructed of rocks and mud laid on top of boughs. The cooking is done in a fireplace located under a hole in the roof. The toilet is on an open balcony on the second floor. It consists only of a hole in the mud floor. There are no furnishings in the house—no chairs, no beds, no tables. There are no decorations on the walls, no carpets on the floors.

Jigmet is the richest man in the village. He owns the land he works—eighteen *kanals* or a little more than one acre. He has no sheep, no goats, no yaks. He has one dzo that he uses for plowing. For fuel he uses the dung of the dzo and the common sea buckthorn (*Hippophae rhamnoides*)—a silvery-barked shrub with sharp spines and orange-yellow berries that flourishes in the valley of the Indus. He raises only barley, and he irrigates it from the Indus. He has a few chickens. Their eggs, the dzo's milk, and the barley are his income. He bragged that he had a cash income, over and above his living, of fifty dollars a year. A local official laughed at the idea. He said five dollars a year would be closer.

[291] Jigmet wore a gray wool gown, sandals, and a Ladakhi hat. The hat, distinguished by a rim made of black fur, had a round, squat top. Jigmet had one other adornment. In his right ear he wore a big gold earring about an inch and a half in diameter. His face was sad; his black eyebrows and thick, black mustache accentuated the severity of his countenance. Yet he was a gracious host. He showed us to our room on the second floor. The room had a small balcony big enough for a sleeping bag. It faced north, and I could see miles and miles up the Indus. We no sooner had unpacked than Jigmet's family appeared—a wife suckling a babe,

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

by. It was only the occasional stranger who offered him any possible opportunity to make a cash profit.

The poverty and ignorance in which the lamas hold the people of this region mean that the lamas are supreme in temporal as well as in spiritual matters. There is no revolt, not even any apparent resentment. Yet people are people the world around; and the Ladakhis show their resentment in simple, innocuous ways. It is in the form of making fun of the lamas. And one of the most dramatic ways is in the singing of a famous Ladakhi folk song.

The women of Gya sang it for me. A dozen or more stood in line, close together. They were dressed in their conventional long black wool dresses. Most of them had on the picturesque *perakh*,[1] and the large black wool earpieces that stood out like sails from their heads. Most of them wore sheepskins over their shoulders—the skin that serves as a ground covering at night, a protection against rain by day, and a shield for the carrying of loads on the back. They were giggling as they started to sing; and the giggles interfered with the song until at last they finally settled to a serious rendition. The song is a take-off on a man accused of being a lama. The man's name is Tashiwangyal, and he is the singer.

Don't think I have no father;[1]
My father's caste is bright like sandalwood.[2]
Don't think I have no mother;
I'm like the guitar made out of the reindeer skin.[3]
Don't think I have no tongue;
I'm like the cord made of the inner skin of the goat.[4]
Don't think I am a lama;
Thang Thang Gyalpo is my lama.[5]*

[1]A lama is supposed to renounce his father and mother.
[2]He is, in other words, spotless.
[3]He's made of proper stuff.
[4]This skin has a fine texture.
[5]He was a very superior man who built a lot of monasteries.
*See page 334.

7 [Headdress of older women -- Analyst]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

years they charged four annas (five cents); now their uniform rate is one rupee (twenty cents).

Leh barely keeps alive. The demands of its native population bring some life to the markets. But Leh will shrink to a tiny village on that volume of trade. To date it has been saved by its Indian Army garrison, whose purchasing power keeps the ancient city alive. But once that artificial stimulant is removed, Leh will shrivel. There are projects for development of Ladakh. It is found, for example, that drug herbs grow well there and have an extraordinarily high alkaloid content. Kashmir is promoting the use of Ladakh for growing drug herbs on a commercial scale. Unless Kashmir undertakes a bold economic and social program in Ladakh, Leh will soon become as much a relic of the past as the gaunt and empty castle of the King that looks down on the old capital of Little Tibet.

The people of Leh do not seem to know the worries of which I speak. They have little; they expect no more; they are happy with their lot. They are friendly and cheerful, simple and uncomplicated. I stayed with them and came to know their simple faith. The deities of the passes, of the rivers, of the valleys are real to them. So are their fears and superstitions. They are gentle people, and poor beyond belief, held closely to their faith by stern lamas.

The beautiful women in Leh are the young ones in their teens or twenties. A woman, by the time she is thirty, has usually faded. She carries the work of the house, the weight of the children, the burden of the fields. By forty she is old, with no buoyancy left. But the young lady knows the gaiety of hope, the laughter of dreams. Such a girl was Zila. She wore a chic sheepskin over her shoulders, the fur side under. The fleece had been washed and combed and made to spray out along the edges of the garment and over her shoulders. These streamers of wool against Zila's dark dress, like her beautiful teeth against her dark lips, gave her a rare beauty.

I met Zila at the Moravian Mission at Leh, a mission estab-

13t Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

IN HIMALAYAN TIBET

CHAPTER I

Introduction to the Land & People

"ONCE upon a time" is the orthodox beginning for all stories of fairy-land, and indeed the words "here and now" seem far too prosaic to introduce a new-comer into a land where those, who can still look out on the world with a child's wonderment and imagination, may actually see such living and moving embodiment of gnomes, elves, quaint old witches, weird old wizards in such appropriately fantastic and grotesque settings that they may well feel they have reached the veritable home of merry sprites and strange goblins. Could anything be more gnome-like than the little children playing in the roads and lanes, peeping shyly round dark corners or out of mysterious cracked doors, or darting away down queer passages leading under and through houses, quaint little individuals with merry brown faces, sometimes flat and Mongolian in type, but often with large lustrous brown eyes, probably from a Kashmiri admixture. See these elf-like little faces framed in the astrakhan edging of their high fur-lined caps with turned-up corners, a fashion worn by all ages and sexes, including the pig-tailed men, these very corners being so typical of the whole goblin land. So, too, are the still taller peaked mitre-shaped hats of the lamas, red or yellow, while the national head-dress or "Perag" of the women, is the most extraordinary thing of

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

short planks, and whose wooden framework may be crudely carved; this will be the summer kitchen-living-room. Its winter counterpart, a smaller, darker room, will be found on the second floor, the windows being glazed by small panes in the most advanced houses, while the others are stuffed with bundles of rags or closed in with pieces of paper, for which we often receive requests at the beginning of winter. The ground floor serves to stable the cattle, who thus provide a warm atmosphere at the base of the house in the severe winter, a mild basement heating. What we may thus term the biological warmth of winter concentration is shared also by the fowls, who arrive at night in the winter kitchen-living-room, and by this means are persuaded to lay occasionally even throughout that bitter season.

Our idea of the place for a flower garden is just outside the front door and around the house, but these people cannot spare land there, for, if the house is built on land, which can be irrigated, every bit must be used for agriculture, and any spare little plot for a few vegetables. But their appreciation of flowers is seen by the boxes full of gay blossom on roof or balcony, and the place for a "buttonhole," in the absence of our tailor-made provision, is behind the ears, giving a much more saucy effect, especially when so near to sparkling brown eyes. Not only may there be a flower garden on the roof, but it is not uncommon to see a tent pitched there for shade and summer sleeping purposes. Sleep itself is most easily invited in the knee-elbow position, clothes being removed and used to augment the bedding. In spite of this unfavourable position the Ladaki is not guiltless of snoring, but much the reverse! In our civilization the poorest will aim at being tidy outside. Not so the Ladaki. He wears his oldest dress outside, and his best one underneath, reversing the order for special occasions. Roughly sewn patches are applied at any angle; there is no need to attempt invisible mending as we do, for the more patches with the edges over-

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

lapping, the warmer the dress. Our chief meals are completed with a hot beverage, such as coffee, but they begin as well as end theirs with their butter-tea. Even the teeth of the carpenter's saw are sloped in the wrong direction compared with ours. If we listen to the cow, we note that she descends the scale as she moos, whereas our western cows moo from below upwards.

With us the protrusion of the tongue is a sign of contempt and derision, and is certainly not regarded as a sign of good breeding ! With the Tibetan it is a very polite form of greeting, and its involuntary production often occurs from embarrassment or astonishment. In the west we wait for admittance at the door of the house. In Ladak, the house is penetrated until the desired one is found. When the " Doctor Sahib " was ill in bed not long after our arrival in Ladak, and while we were still learning many new things, the door between his bedroom and the dining-room suddenly opened to admit a not over-cleanly looking individual, with a loudly squawking and protesting cock under his arm, a token of gratitude for the " Doctor Sahib " from one of his patients, but the " Mem Sahib " would have preferred to receive it on his behalf further from the sensitive radius of a badly aching head. When our little girl donned a lamb-skin coat with the white fur outside, it was considered to be a most inside-out proceeding, while in Ladak hats are worn indoors as well as out-of-doors by both sexes. Even their treatment of nature seems to be the wrong way round, for they pray for sun to relieve a drought ; but we have only to remember that the water supply and irrigation of the fields are entirely dependent on the summer melting of the winter snows away up on the mountain heights. Although the native doctors get plenty of rewards in both food and cash, it is often made plain to the European doctor that the reward for his services is the merit he wins, no doubt the reason for his leaving his own country and coming to such a far land, unless it be that the unaccount-

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

able British Government is paying him some large salary for his services !

Strange is it to see the extraordinary mixture of finery and rags in their religious services, ceremonies and festivals, the rich brocaded Chinese silk gowns of the dancing lamas having little tags of cheapest gaudily-dyed butter muslin attached, while beautiful clothes are surmounted by tinselled hats, the latter the sort of rubbish that children love for " dressing up " in the west. Strange too, is the mixture of clownishness and solemnity, as seen especially at the Hemis festival. In the altars of little private chapels in the homes of the richer Buddhists, the most beautiful metal work will be found side-by-side with a cracked cup or an old tin, while in the matter of dress, dirt and finery often go together, nor do they seem to see the former in demanding a price for a second-hand, one might say an " umpteenth " hand, garment with beautiful Chinese embroidery, but so tattered and frayed and soiled, that a European can only reject it.

So does one thing after the other seem to our ideas the wrong way round in this strange land, where the term *mgologpa* (" head-turned " or " back to front " man) is a common term of reproach. But is it they who are, as it were, the wrong side of the Looking-Glass, or are we ?

Some years ago one of our colleagues in the course of conversation with a Ladaki, referred to their peculiar and distinctive smell, and was filled with surprise and chagrin when he was told that that was quite comprehensible, for we *Pyigling pa* (pronounced Pilingpa, being literally outsiders, *i.e.*, foreigners) had an unpleasant odour in the Ladaki estimation also. Having some idea of the ratio of their ablutions to ours, this was a distinct blow to the Sahibs' vanity !

In attempting to understand this land and people, we must therefore remember that we are the outsiders and ours are extraordinary ideas and standards. After all, is it not wiser to expose your older dress to the daily wear and

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

for a moment, it was she who caught her breath in dread suspense; but there was always another figure in attendance who was quick to give an extra hand. This was Choskyit, the children's Ladaki nurse, a faithful, delightful woman, and a picturesque lady as she rode along in her dark plum-coloured, full-skirted Ladaki home-spun, with a fur-lined waistcoat fastened on the shoulder in Tibetan style, and her red velvet Ladaki hat turned up at the back and sides, showing the black lamb-skin lining. Large round hoops of seed pearls with a few small turquoises and red stones adorned her ears and framed her kind cheerful face, which gave the lie to the rather barbarous leather horsewhip she carried. Riding behind her baby's dandy, scolding the men roundly when they carried it crookedly or loitered, she was off her pony in a minute to lend her aid in any time of need, to adjust the curtain to a change in the direction of the sun at a turn in the road, or to see that the little one was comfortable and happy. So trustworthy was she that she and the baby were always sent off first in the early morning, the parents catching up before the stop for the roadside meal. And now again the Memsahib had reached the piece of road where the track led over the frozen ice and snow, undermined by the rushing river, so that every now and then it ended abruptly where another large piece had cracked off the bank and remained tilted up at an acute angle into the river. At such places a new path was beginning to be trodden out further up the hillside, but, when it joined the old one again, one wondered how long before any new piece would in turn yield to the pressure; whether perhaps one's own pony would prove to be "the last straw," and pony and rider suddenly find themselves taking a sideways somersault into the river. However, the baby was now safely in Srinagar, so there were no fears for her, and such dangers as the road presented merely acted as thrills to the grown-up mentality. Again Dromar went ahead and his rider found herself in the company of the head cook of the expedition. Going along

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

his wig standing over there, with a markedly malevolent look in one big bad eye, seeming to watch with great resentment the intrusion of our Western selves into his valley? Certainly that eye follows us till we are level with him, after which suddenly turning, we find that he too has turned back again to see what other intruders will follow, and we wonder how the rest of our party will stand his evil scorn. Then our eye falls on a giant emerging with his broom from his cave, from which we can trace the track down which he goes to fetch water. His face is hidden, but shoulder, arm and broom are clearly visible. What mystery is he brooming out with such persistence? A little further we spy a Mongolian-looking female, eyes closed, and flattened nose turned up in utter disgust at our European smell. So, though the last few miles are generally the longest, these are more than beguiled by all the strange wizard-like forms and fairy-like scenes we see depicted opposite, varied with glimpses into deep narrow ravines with more weird formations, suggesting the strangest mysteries.

Our attention is diverted, however, by Mulbek's monastery, perched high up on inaccessible-looking crags and dominating the whole valley. Strange and sudden on its perch, fascinating in its form and outline, we at last turn down under its very shadow to the polo ground, on the nearer side of which is the rest-house, and on the further side the central stream. All along we have been noting how exactly the strange dwellers of this valley fitted the scenery from head to foot, indeed especially head-dress and footgear, no doubt contributing to our feeling of being intruders. The chuckling fat babies with their nun's style of close-fitting cap, tucked into one of the aforementioned baskets, and left on the edge of the field in which their care-taker is busy, are particularly attractive. At the bungalow we find a lot of *respas* (turn-men) waiting to secure the job of transport for the next day. In our staff is a coolie boy from a village near Leh, who came to us utterly destitute in

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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792

TWO LADAKIS IN THE BAZAAR AT LEH.

The old Meme (grandfather) has his prayer-wheel with him in order to accumulate merit. He is wearing *charoks*, Yarkandi boots of thin red leather with a felt stocking inside. His companion prefers Ladaki footwear, of which the uppers are woven of coarse wool, sewn on to rope soles. The toes are turned up.

THE BABY SKUSHOG OF SPITUK

With his two lama "nurses." He is wearing the gilded official riding hat.

FACING P. 72

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

622 As we ride up, the chief gipsy appears. He is a short, stout, healthy-looking young fellow, and his good-natured smile of greeting seems to us to presage a successful deal. He wears long ●741 trousers of homespun, and a short jacket of the same material. 301 A Ladaki hat is placed jauntily upon his head, and his rather large earrings make him resemble his Spanish brother still more. He is followed by several others of the same ilk. His spouse, too, makes her appearance, and a nice picture she is. Her happy, jolly, round, fat face shines from the amount of butter with which she has anointed it, and is surmounted by a half-circle of red material with large stones of turquoise matrix inserted. Her well-covered body testifies to good living and plenty of fresh air. There is nothing of the Zenana lady about this dame. Two or three children play happily around her, but their dress is so scanty that one's 197 description may be still more so. We address them with our Ladaki "zhu," and make a few further pleasant remarks. Although our dialect is quite different from theirs, they understand not only ours, but that of most of the people among 437 whom they live and trade. "Have you a pony to sell?" we 563 ask, and are told that they have such marvellous ones for this 731 very purpose, that they defy description, and as for their amble, well, riding them is like sitting in a chair. I am not sure that they did not say *raeil* instead of chair, for anything that has wheels is designated by this Ladaki pronunciation of our English word "rail," even though it be only the missionary's perambulator. "What sort of an amble has this pony of yours?" we next inquire. "A *'Stongyor* of course" comes the rejoinder. Now this needs some explanation. In countries like Ladak, where one has such long treks and few pieces of road that can be trotted on, the most comfortable and least tiring pace a pony can possess is the amble, with the result that if a pony does not have one naturally, he must try to acquire it by having the two legs on the same side tied together. The natural amble is called *stongyor*, which means

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

142 unaccustomed to washing, but well-acquainted with smoky fires. Their long coats reach just below the knees, and are
291 cut without shape or form of any kind. The fronts of these over-lap, and in lieu of buttons they wear a long, broad kammerband round their waists to keep their coats closed. On the lapels of these garments are broad strips of nicely-coloured flannel. The Changpas are shod with long boots reaching up to the knees, red in colour and with very thick
342 soles. Their tents, to European eyes, seem to be just about as ridiculous as tents can be; but then the Changpa does not go into them for protection from the rain as we do, but
[132] from the wind. Although in these high uplands there is plenty of rain, for it seemed to be pouring or snowing most of the time we were up there, he considers that the wind is the worse of two evils, for in a high wind you cannot make a fire to boil your tea. He therefore makes his tent so that the wind shall find it difficult to get in, while the smoke of the fire inside shall have an easy egress. To do this he leaves the top of his canvas home absolutely open to the sky. His shelter consists merely of two sides of black cloth made from yak's hair, of which the upper two corners only are fastened together and fixed on the top of upright poles whilst the lower corners are fastened to the ground. These tents are so low that, if the Changpa wants to see what his sheep are doing, he has only to stand up and put his head and shoulders out of his "chimney" to view the landscape, when he resembles nothing more closely than a released jack-in-the-box. Inside their tents these pastoral people sleep, cook their meals, and keep their goods and chattels, while grazing around are their horses, yaks, and sheep—a simple life indeed.

Pobrang itself is a very pretty place, consisting of a long stretch of grass lying among sandy mountains with the usual snow-covered peaks behind. Through it there run many delightful rivulets in which the snow-trout are so abundant that in quite a short space of time we pulled out about sixty,

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of supplying for the forced labour on the road, exacted in lieu of taxation from each village.

So we see there is plenty to do even on the roof of the world, and we must not grudge the man of the house his leisure when he sits down to have a restful pull at his hookah, the favourite pipe of the East, passing it round for the other men, and even some of the women, to have a turn. As their hands intervene between their mouths and the mouthpiece, this is not so unhygienic a sharing as it sounds. Sometimes the snuff-box will be passed round, too, and in the villages snuff or ash for this purpose may easily be procured by collecting and burning a kind of broom from the hillside. If your friendly "hubble-bubble" has been left behind, a pipe can easily be arranged by making a hole in the ground, tunnelling a passage into it, then pushing in a hollowed piece of wood as your mouthpiece. Now place your tobacco into the hole, get on your knees, bend down, light up, and there you are.

Let us look at our pigtailed friend as he bends over his pipe. Down the back of his natural-coloured garment is a long greasy mark where his pigtail rubs on it. The pigtail itself is continued by wool when the hair gives out, and his big wide *skerag*, a long woollen sash about six inches wide and six feet long, bound in many turns round the waist with the ends tucked in, is wound over it, so as to keep it in place. This *skerag*, as we have already seen elsewhere, is a repository for many articles, either stuck in the back or depending from the front, or, like the little wooden travelling-cup, placed inside its voluminous folds. Another repository for accommodating the cup or other precious things may be termed the breast-pocket, for it is entered where the coat folds over in front of the chest. But before we leave the pigtail and its greasy mark, we must learn that a Ladaki gentleman likes to have his hair washed about once a month, a process during which he must sit with his head on a wooden support, while his wife or nearest female relation carries out the ablutions with soda

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

and warm water. There is something very ludicrous in the sight of an aged be-whiskered man-servant, coming to his daily work with his long hair hanging round his shoulders to dry, but the sun soon does its work, and the hair can be well oiled with apricot or mustard-oil, and plaited up again. The ordinary fur-lined Ladaki hat with its turned-up corners is of Indian origin, though the long robe comes from China. If the corner of the hat is turned down, it signifies that the wearer is in mourning; while if the whole thing is worn jauntily at an angle, it is the sign of a true dandy. Before the great war the words "Made in Germany" were often seen on a hat, generally upside down, but to the wearer it was illegible, and regarded as a nice pattern selected from the edge of the roll of cloth. It is quite good manners to use the corners of one's dress as a handkerchief, turning it up to blow the nose on the inner side. When a great occasion demands smart clothing, it is also quite correct to borrow whatever is necessary from a friend.

The outstanding feature of a Ladaki woman's appearance is the extraordinary arrangement of hair and head-dress. The latter is called a *perag*, the first part of the word being an old name for turquoise.

In olden times the women of this country wore a round head-dress like that which adorns the lady of Purig or of Central Tibet, until a Ladaki King brought his royal consort from a small state in the closed land where the *perag* was the national head-dress, and the ladies of his realm at once copied their new Queen. The *perag* consists of a central elongated piece of leather, covered with red cloth, converging slowly to a long narrow point below the waist behind, and a shorter blunt one in front. The whole thing is supposed to represent a snake, and the front part appearing over the forehead certainly resembles the head of the cobra. On this bright red background rows of turquoise matrix are sewn, often ending in front with a chased gold and silver ornament,

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. ..ibetans AJ4

studded with small turquoises. Sometimes a large red cornelian also varies the apex. This would seem startling enough, but unfortunately a later Queen had an attack of earache, so attached a large piece of black lambskin each side to protect her ears. The court ladies must do likewise, so now every *perag* is accompanied by these large ear-flaps, and the *coiffure* is most wonderfully adapted to them by plaiting the hair into a number of small plaits, which are sewn into the ear-pieces at each side, and continued with wool down the back on both sides of the *perag* to unite below in a large tassel, which reaches to the bottom of the skirt. To one side of the *perag* a projection of silver from which rows of coral-beads depend is also fastened. This is said to represent the serpent's tail, though it seems to us to have become rather dislocated. In the villages there are only a few rows of turquoise on the average woman's *perag*, but the town ladies are very resplendent, and their head-dresses become so heavy with stones that they sometimes support them by a broad black tape passing under the armpits. The central portion is taken off at night, and sometimes when at work in the house, leaving the ear-pieces in place, stitched to the hair, for so elaborate a *coiffure* can only be taken down once a month, when the hair is washed, oiled and done up anew. For this process in the town a lady hairdresser attends, getting four to eight annas a day, and in addition food of the feasting standard. In the country the women have to oblige each other. Also occasionally the whole *perag* has to be taken to pieces, a new red cloth substituted, and the turquoises resewn, during which time the proud owner of a brilliant head-dress has to be content with her ordinary fur-lined hat. Small girls sometimes begin with a skimpy little *perag* at the age of five or six, bearing a single row of turquoises in front and ending in cowrie shells behind. The latter are slowly replaced as funds permit, and cowries should only be worn by unmarried girls. By the time she is grown up, a girl

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

By the time she is grown up, a girl should thus have quite a good sized *perag*,[4] which functions as her dowry, in fact she regards it as her bank, for she invests money in turquoises as a provision for widowhood or old age. The mother's *perag* usually goes to the eldest daughter at her marriage, after which the mother must be content with a small one. As the eldest son inherits all land property, so the eldest daughter inherits all ornaments. Unfortunately the number and size of the turquoises on a head-dress are a source of great jealousy, and a lady with a very resplendent *perag* is often one of suspicious morals. In olden times the ladies of high rank in Ladak all wore ear-flaps of sable, brought from beyond Yarkand, but now these are seen only on the Queen and the old Queen Mother. Another custom traceable to a royal indisposition is that of wearing a large gold and silver ornament in front of the neck at weddings. This originated from the desire of a Queen on such an occasion to hide a goitre which disfigured her neck.

The women also have many other ornaments. Ear-rings of seed-pearls, threaded on a large wire hoop, which passes round the whole ear, with one or two turquoises and corals at the bottom of the circle. Necklaces composed of little chased gold amulet boxes, interspersed with coral and turquoise, or other less elaborate ones, made with red beads and little silver ornaments. Silver chatelaines worn on the breast, with picks for nose, ears, teeth and other purposes, and large round brass ornaments at the waist from which leather threads pass to a brass needle-case, to the other side of which are attached a number of chains of cowries, also threaded on leather. Finally bracelet-cuffs, made of chased silver or white shell, used to knock together in salutation but also convenient for keeping back the long sleeves.

Here is another custom the reverse of ours, for whereas European women wear short sleeves, in summer at any rate (the Ladakis probably think this must be to economize stuff), both men and women in this country have them cut very

4 [i.e. turquoise studded headdress. – ANALYST]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

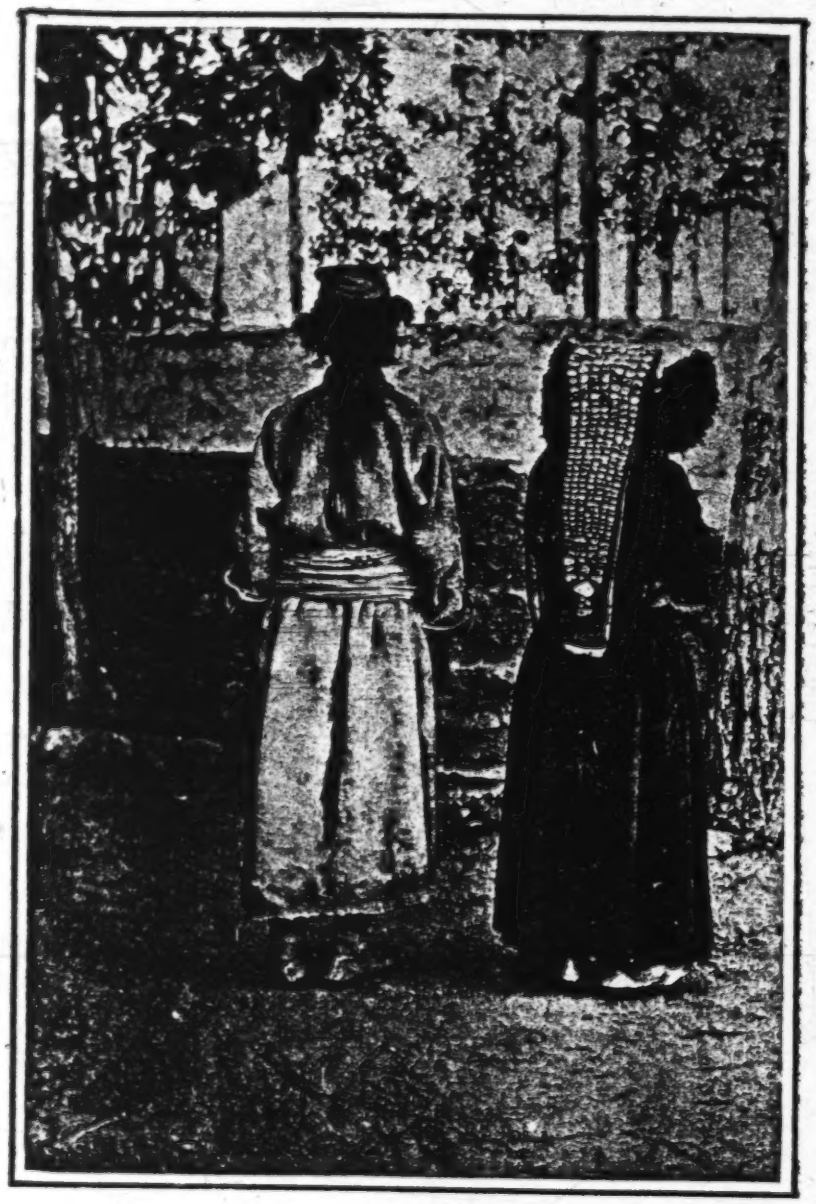
●291 much longer than their arms. In winter this is very useful, as the hands can be threaded in the opposite sleeve to keep warm, and any surplus length in a man can always be turned back as a cuff. A woman's trousers are also far longer than her legs, and look very peculiar garments when spread out to dry. But the concertina-like creases into which they fold when worn, and which come right down to the ankle, add all the more warmth in winter. An unmarried girl wears white trousers, but a married woman must wear black, at any rate after the birth of her first son. A woman's *skerag* or waistband is also wide and very long, and wound round her very tightly. Her gown is shaped rather differently from a man's—the bodice and skirt being cut separately, and the latter sewn on to the former with very full pleats, and if it is a best dress the whole is edged with an effective little narrow bind-
301 ing of gay pattern. Occasionally she thinks to enhance her beauty by using the small berries of a common weed, and sticking them all over the upper part of her face, where they look
563 like little yellow spots. These berries are also said to relieve
291 headache, and withdraw superfluous serum. We must also mention the head-dress of the Mussulman women in Leh, for the town contains a large proportion of them. The *perag* is rightly considered an emblem of an idolatrous religion, and should be discarded on changing over to Mohammedanism. Then a white head-dress covering over a little round founda-
[301] tion cap, and hanging in folds to below the waist, is worn. In front is an ornament which may be quite costly, of seed-pearls and turquoises, often arranged to form the sign of the crescent.

144 Now we come to those important members of the home, the children, and it would be hard to find more fascinating little persons than the elfish little sprites whom we meet in Ladak. To our Western eyes the flattened face and large cheeks of a Mongolian type of baby are particularly quaint.

844 When Baby is coming, in contrast to the complicated

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

291



PIGTAIL AND PERAG.

A typical Ladaki man and woman taken in summer. The lady need not wear her cape in and about the house, and the sidepiece, or "tail of the serpent" is missing from her *perag*. The gentleman shews well the effect of the rubbing of his well-oiled pigtail on his natural-coloured homespun.

FACING p. 136

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

533 *dGonpa* strangely appropriate lama figures with fairy-tale
797 hats are blowing long shawms, telescopic trumpets which pull
346 out to about fourteen feet, while at their sides are other priests ready to take turn with their smaller flageolets. The strangely Wagnerian effects of these shawms, which is soon replaced by the higher tones of the other instruments, throw a plaintive, questioning, sweetly-sad melody out into the mysteries of the
600 silent grandeur around. The vastness of nature's magnificent rugged mightiness, the elfish dwelling places and lights fashioned by human hands in this strange mountain fastness, and the haunting nature of the weird music under the star-spangled moonlit sky, combine to form an atmosphere which will last as long as the memory can recall them. Returning to camp, we almost stumble over a pile of sacks, and are surprised to hear a *zhu-le* and descry a head at one end. It is our own ponymen, who had been passed sitting round their camp-fire on our way out, now already tucked up under their sacks in the open. Proceeding more warily, more sacks are found covering watchers beside a mare who foaled the day after arrival, and yet she, carrying her load with her two-days old offspring at her side, will travel back with us next day, the long-legged wee thing occasionally getting a lift in the arms of the ponyman, and turning up at the camping place apparently none the worse for its fourteen mile run.

796 Up the sides of the stream sounds of revelry begin to arise from around the camp-fires of the many pilgrims, laughter and chatter and the rhythmic beat of dance music. Many
● [291] of these pilgrims we have already seen on the road ; town
[301] ladies from Leh with immensely wide *perags* and all their gala finery, rattling with jewelry, their blue turquoises and gay capes of red and green showing up as delightful spots of colour on the bare brown landscape when they rode ahead.
184 Stopping at any little spot by the roadside, where water is accessible to brew their tea, were little groups of wayfarers from the countryside below Leh and from the lesser known

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

proud possessors of umbrellas, which went up for sun or showers. Many districts and dialects were represented.

Here were two *Jomos* or nuns from Zankskar, to whom we talked later on when gathered round their camp-fire with their fellow countrymen, young girls of about seventeen and nineteen, sisters, with course manly faces and necks under their tonsured heads and yellow caps. They had come a month's journey over many a difficult pass, but were as cheery as could be. Conspicious were some conjurers from Spitti, who come to Ladak every year, and whose display we had often witnessed in Leh. With uncovered heads, their long hair done in a large number of narrow plaits gave a strangely effeminate touch to their tall, well set-up bodies. Dotted about were ladies from the district of Hanle, some two to three weeks' journey further up the Indus valley, easily distinguished by their peculiar *perags*, which, instead of coming to a blunt point in front, were cut sharply off above the forehead by a straight bar of silver. Many of the women from Nubra and the less known valleys of Ladak wore picturesque dresses of narrow material sewn together in strips with circular patterns stamped on at intervals, giving a striped effect, so pleasing that one wished it had not been put out of fashion by the town ladies of Leh. One old Tibetan with a dark face, looking as if he might belong to the Hanuman tribe, sat devoutly under an umbrella the whole time, and, whenever we looked across, he was turning his two prayer-wheels, which he held one in each hand. Such devotion had no doubt prevented him from attending to his wild unkempt hair for many a long day. There were also many ladies wearing nothing on their heads to cover their untidy plaited hair: these were nomads from the Changtang, the great northern plains far away. Now a small person takes up a central position and serenely breaks open apricot stones to extract the kernels, using a stone to crack them on the base of the flagstaff. A gentleman with a yellow silk brocade dressing-gown and

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

796 tremendous red hat is seen making his way purposefully
184 through the crowd, and one wonders what, whence, whither?
• 291 Then comes into view a curious figure with a tremendous prayer-wheel, a strange hat with a central peak, and a high scolloped turned-up brim, a conspicuous rosary, and two small
[791] drums on his back: a sort of gipsy lama, or shall we label him a mendicant magician in this land where priest-craft and devil-worship, ecclesiastical ritual and sorcery, are so closely mingled.

There we spy a typical Tibetan face, framed by a four-flapped dark orange cap; and now a pretty Ladaki girl, in a very Dutchy hat with turned-up corners and a little bit of gold embroidery, detaches herself from the crowd and makes signs to a friend on the roof above us, a delightful touch of colour being added by a yellow rose fastened in the side of her hat. Occasionally we spot a woman from Central Tibet with her round head-dress a strip of red-covered leather shaped into a ring, studded with turquoise and coral, and wearing the quaint striped apron which she and her sisters effect. In the corner, under the shelter of an overhanging roof, we find a little family comfortably ensconced, their baggage sacks having been arranged as pillows for a witchlike old lady who leans wearily back on them. Here and there stand out extra highly coloured hats on our own Ladaki neighbours, even the gentlemen having had their head-gear re-covered for such a festival. The flat Mongolian faces and quaint wee garments, generally raggedly elflike, of the babies, are particularly fascinating, especially one tiny man belonging to the front row in the quadrangle floor, who runs out into the arena every now and again to guilelessly practice the movements he has just witnessed, causing real joy to the crowd. One larger boy, caught trespassing by a monk with a whip, is seized and given a mock beating, which amuses him as much as the onlookers. Here are some Dard ladies from Hanu, far down the Indus valley, with their bag-like caps fastened down on one side and adorned with a row of needles (probably made in Birmingham).

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

So from time to time one interesting type after another appears on the scene and catches the eye. Always in the picture the ecclesiastic element is prominent. Most of the lamas wear waterbottles, square, flat bags with hole and cap at the top. These are used to put the holy water into, which alone they are allowed to drink when they fast. Some are covered with beautiful Chinese silk brocade, which is worn only by senior or superior monks. Quite a number of novices are about, boy lamas of all ages from about eight upwards. The majority of the crowd are, of course, our own Ladaki friends from the neighbourhood of Leh, with a good sprinkling of interested Mussulmans distinguished by fez and turban, and a few Hindu shopkeepers, clerks, and their servants. In the balcony at right angles to us, sitting next to the Gurkha sepoys stationed in Leh, is a hermit who lives in a little hermitage half-way up the hill about two miles from Leh. He looks anything but a hermit in his fine red robes, with hair done like the Spitti men, but wearing a lama's cap.

He is very restless, and his face looks peevish and certainly not meditative. But he comes out of retirement a good deal, for we have met him in the fields, and a week after the festival there was a gathering in the desert outside Leh, where the *Skushog* of Hemis consecrated for him a new *chorten* and *mani* wall, which he has built to bring blessing to the town, so he cannot be a man of poverty. At the festival he is provided with a deck chair, and a second day we see him busy tearing a long piece of yellow silk into strips, which we later notice adorning caps and garments, doubtless after having been blessed by the *Skushog*.

It was surprising how quickly this concourse of pilgrims melted away. The morning after the festival, when we moved out of the village at about 9 o'clock, it was almost empty again, neither did we pass many of them.

As we descended straight down to the bridge, crossing the

250 Introduction to the Hemis Mystery Play

As we descended straight down to the bridge, crossing the
178 river to make the return journey to Leh on the other side, we passed a large *chorten* surrounded by small trees, on which was painted a hideous three-eyed monster, the patron saint of Hemis, and then caught up with one more fascinating
484 little group of pilgrims. This trio were returning up the Indus
184 valley to the wilds, two women and a man in the dress of nomads. On their backs were strange casks like old beer
● 291 barrels with the outlet well pegged. Looking in over the top we found they were lidless and contained all their cooking pots, while the remainder of their travelling requisites, probably all their worldly goods, were packed on the back of the donkey, whose foal trotted at her side.

595 shall try to show why in some cases
121 polyandry is fraternal, and in others non-
fraternal.

162 The province of Ladak, which I visited,
197 is inhabited by Tibetans speaking an
193 ancient form of the language. Tibet, of
643 course, is run by the Lamaist church and
361 the head of the country is the Dalai Lama.
341 The former kings of Tibet have taken
131 refuge in Ladak since the 8th century A. D.
175 and live in the castle of Leh. The town
is very characteristic of Tibetan towns.
Flat-roofed houses are very well built on
the side of high mountains. The altitude
is 12,000 feet, the entire area is snowed in
[92] during the winter, and the people live
mostly in their houses and do not go out.

164 These Tibetan houses are not very dif-
123 ferent from our own western type of
354 houses, except in one respect. The kitchen
here has no chimney, so it can be imagined
how much smoke fills the room when they
cook. The Tibetans do not seem to mind;
though we personally found it very difficult
to stand upright in their kitchens when
they were cooking and so spent most of
our time there on all fours, to avoid the
smoke and keep our eyes from watering.
The people suffer from eye trouble because
of this practice and yet they seem to stick
to it in a very curious manner.

291 The characteristic dress of the Ladak
301 women is of red cloth such as the men
523 wear. They have a sheepskin toga which
428 they throw over their shoulders and a very
characteristic head-dress, made of a piece
of red felt with two enormous ears of black
wool. The red felt band is studded with
turquoises at the back, family heirlooms,
handed down from mother to daughter.
Such a headdress is known as a *perak*.

291 The men are tough-looking. They very
857 often have their right shoulders bare;
though sometimes they have a Chinese
shirt thrown over them. When they are
working, they usually have the right
shoulder uncovered, however cold the
weather may be. Looking at Tibetan
children, one could imagine at first sight

857 that they have two heads, but the explanation is that they generally carry a younger brother or sister on their back because the mother is at work in the house and cannot look after them.

212 857 779 871 It is a fact that all Tibetans are literate, men and women alike. Whatever class they belong to, between the ages of 8 and 12 they have to go to the monastery to learn the Buddhist religion, learning to read and write at the same time. This gives these people a very high standard of culture.

595 428 183 592 The first thing to grasp in Tibetan polyandry is that the Tibetans are very keen to keep the property together. The country is poor, and they feel that if the property is divided among several heirs there will not be enough to go around. They not only wish to keep the property intact but also to maintain the family name to this property. Thus, when a certain number of brothers, let us say, three, inherit the property and the house, they do not divide it among themselves but, marrying one woman as they do, they share not only the property but also the woman as a common wife, as well as the children which belong to all of them together. It is a kind of family communism, and certainly prevents division of the property.

595 428 [601] 581 592 Thus, the usual type of marriage is that a number of brothers marry one woman and keep the property. This is called a *bagma* marriage in Tibetan. However, if there are only girls in the family, what usually happens is that the younger girls go off and marry into other families, individually becoming the common wives of a number of brothers. They thus perform the regular *bagma* marriage. The eldest daughter, however, since she has no brothers, inherits both the name and property from her fathers and and is allowed to marry as many husbands as she wishes. These husbands and the children, too, take her name, so that, in this way, the children which issue from the marriage take on the mother's name and inherit the property undivided, and again make regular *bagma*

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

lax order than that of the established Church in Tibet, and allows marriage of the clergy.

Three of the languages spoken are Bunan, Manchet and Tinan, all of them non-Aryan, non-Tibetan in origin, and closely related basically with the Munda language of north-east India. Inmixtures have, however, taken place and very many foreign words and forms have crept into the three languages, Bunan being more infused with classical Tibetan, and Manchat and Tinan having acquired many words from the Aryan Indian languages of Chamba and Kulu. In some parts of the Chandra and of the Bhaga valleys, round Khoksar and Kolong, Tibetan is spoken too, in its local dialectual form. Kyelang is in the centre of the Bunan speaking area, while Tinan is spoken east of the confluent of the Chandra and the Bhaga, and Manchat west of the same right up to the border of Chamba. Tibetan is the *lingua franca* of the whole country, although it is perhaps less understood in the Manchat speaking area (that is in the valley of the Chandra-Bhaga) than elsewhere. Literacy is quite high among the Buddhists, their children, as is the custom also in Tibet, going at an early age to learn to read and write Tibetan in the monasteries.

The people have a distinct mongoloid appearance, although not as pronounced as that of the occasional visitor from Tibet often encountered during the summer months. In dress, the men at least, wear clothes very like those of the inhabitants of Tibet. A long, loose robe of dirty white or dark coloured wool is worn with a sash round the waist, while it is buttoned up over the right shoulder with Chinese type fastenings. On their heads they wear small caps such as in Kulu, or Tibetan embroidered hats with fur flaps turned up, but which can be let down if needed over the ears.

The women have a much more characteristic way of dressing which is restricted to the valley of Lahul, so that it is possible to tell at once that they come from there. The robe which they wear is secured at the waist with a sash from the back of which hang two strings of brass beads; these are plaited into the hair and pass under the girdle, over which a square piece of mother of pearl shell is fastened into the extremities of the plaits. On the head, the hair is collected at the centre on top and there a saucer shaped silver ornament, often with a turquoise in the middle, is fastened down. Over the temples, on either side, a ball of amber called *poshel* (*sPos-Shel*) (imported from East Prussia) is attached with silver links to the centre piece on top of the head. Over the robe, a thick woollen coat is often worn, and trousers can be glimpsed

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

stretching down below the hem of the gown. In the summer, Bata gym shoes seem to be the usual footwear adopted by both sexes, but I heard that during the winter months boots (probably of the Tibetan woollen variety) are generally worn.

3. HISTORY

Historically, it would appear that Lahul is a mountainous area in which Munda speaking aborigines from India and Tibetans were successfully amalgamated, perhaps some 2000 years B.C. Hiuen Tsiang, the 7th century A.D. Chinese Buddhist pilgrim to India, is the first to mention the country officially, in the narrative of his journey. Three influences seem at that time to have been noticeable in Lahul: Ladaki from the north, Chamba from the west, and Kulu from the south. All through its history the area has been a meeting place of these three outside political rivalries, and it has always succumbed to one of them, never having successfully achieved any independence of its own.

The local chieftains, known originally as Jos (from the Tibetan *Jo-wo* (*Jo-bo*), "lord") and later as Thakurs (an Indian appellation of rank), did nevertheless attain some autonomous status, but were always subject to paying tribute to whichever side was uppermost at the time. After the Ladaki domination of the 11th century, Chamba and Kulu united to drive out Tibetan influence, which was, however, restored about one hundred and fifty years later. With the centralization of the lamaist monastic system in Lhasa in the 14th century, children were sent to the Tibetan capital for education, and this fact had a lasting effect on the culture of Lahul, giving it a pronounced Tibetan character.

With the fall of the Ladaki kingdom to the Mongolians in the latter part of the seventeenth century, Kulu seized the opportunity to invade Lahul, and to bring it entirely under its sway. Barbog, the leading house of Lahul, resisted and was deprived of its powers as a consequence. The other *jos* submitted, were given land (*jagirs*), and their change of title to that of Thakur probably dates back to that time. Since then, they have tried to pass themselves off as Rajputs, but their Tibetan origin is not to be doubted.

In 1840, the Sikhs of the Punjab took over Lahul, together with Kulu. They kept it until the British defeated them six years later and established their rule in the valley. It remained thus as long as the British Raj held sway and only passed to the present Republic of India as a consequence of independence being granted in 1947.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

595 795 who are predominantly Buddhist in Lahul follow the custom, the Hindu Brahmins of the Chandra-Bhaga valley finding it most repugnant to do so.

595 631 It was difficult to discover if the Thakurs were polyandrous or not. As Tibetans and Buddhists, they should follow this system of matrimony since it is part of their culture. They have, however, come very much under Hindu influence with the past conquests of Kulu, and I have related how, since that time, they like to consider themselves Rajputs. For this reason, they denied to me that they were polyandrous, but I found it hard to take them at their word. Probably, they carry on with this arrangement in private, when no inconvenient witnesses are about to hold it against them as high caste, Kshatriya Hindus.

595 No sooner had I arrived in Kyelang and met the Wazir, Thakur Partap Chand, than the latter, on being informed of what I was looking for, took me straight along to a polyandrous family that he knew in the town. It was on the 21st of June, 1938, and to me, this remained a memorable day, for here at last, after hearing so much about it, was polyandry as I was seeking it.

The household to which I was taken was one called Barun-pa, and it was situated in the upper (northern) part of Kyelang. We went there [342] at five o'clock in the afternoon and, after walking down narrow streets between mud walls, we entered through a doorway into a courtyard and climbed up by a narrow staircase onto a terrace on the first floor outside a large room, which appeared to be the living quarters of the family.

A young man was introduced as Sönam (*bSod-Nams*), twenty one years old, head of the house of Barun-pa since the death of his father. [341] He was dressed in a long, yellow silk gown and wore a small Lahuli cap on his head. This made him out to be a person of somewhat better means than most, and since his house was not situated on any *jaghir* land of any of the Thakurs, his was presumably a *khalsa khoti* holding.

[352] He took us to some stools in a corner in front of a small wooden [574] table and asked us to sit down and take some tea. While waiting, using the Thakur as interpreter, I learned that Sönam was married to a young girl aged seventeen, who was also the wife of his two brothers. The ages of the latter, I was surprised to hear, were eight and ten respectively. His mother was still alive, and lived in the same house with them all.

It was not the mother, however, who came along with the tea. The young wife did this, and my notes have a description of the finery that she wore and the jewels that she had on. Sönam said that he, and not his parents, had chosen her. She was from a neighbouring village, and

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Tibetan Nomads

(then a relative of the Thakurs, for whom he was certainly acting), and to him they deliver 70% of their produce, while being allowed to retain about 30%. They also sell salt and borax to the local people at the Patseo fair, as described earlier (p. 310), the wool and *pashmina* which they bring down, together with the butter, cheese, hides and yak hair which are among the products which they must deliver to the owner of their animals, the *goba*.

The *goba*, as far as I could make out, was not normally resident with them, but lived the rest of the year in Lahul. He was a relative of the Karpa family as well as of the Thakurs. He spoke of the tent dwellers as "his nomads", and I realised that he was their master and the owner of the animals, beyond any possibility of misunderstanding. The relations of the nomads to him were those of servants, or even serfs, and they never approached him otherwise than with their tongues out (a Tibetan sign of respect), bowing from the waist and sucking air in through their mouths as they spoke. It did not appear that he had any of the powers of governmental authority over them which one would have presumed he might have in so isolated a spot, even if it were in Kashmir territory. I was, however, able to gather that, as these nomads moved freely over the border, they were politically subject to both the Kashmir authorities and those of central Tibet. The latter were represented in Ngari Korsum by the Garpön of Gartok, capital of the neighbouring Tibetan province.

The dress of the people up here was no longer the same, and already bore a much closer resemblance to that of the Ladakis whom I was soon to encounter. The men wore a loose-fitting robe of Chinese cut, with a sash round the waist made either of coloured or white wool, as in Lahul; on their heads they wore the Ladaki hat, that is a velvet cap, round and high in shape, with the sides turned up in front over the ears. The headgear of the women was the *perak* or *beraq* (possibly spelt *Be-rag*), a long piece of red felt studded with turquoises received in heirloom, which is worn hanging from the forehead backwards down to the waist and is framed at its pointed end over the eyes by two enormous black woollen "ears" on either side of the head. The women's gowns were similar to those of the men and were also made of wool, but usually of a darker colour. Over their shoulders, they fastened a goat's skin, with the fur on the outside. Both sexes wore heavy woollen Tibetan boots, with red embroideries over the foot.

Although no actual example could be given to me at the time, I was assured by our hosts that polyandry existed among the nomads exactly

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

resentatives of the other lamaist sub-divisions, the *Gelug-pa* (*dGe-Lugs-pa*) or Yellow Hats and the *Nyingma-pa* (*sNing-ma-pa*) or Red Hats. The Moslems are all Shias, often called Baltis because of their affinity to those people. An exception are the Sinkiang Turki and Uigur merchants who live in Leh and constitute a foreign minority; these people are orthodox Sunnis. They have intermarried with the local Buddhist Ladaki women, and their offspring are known in Leh as *Argons*; there are about 300 of these, and they are classified with the Moslems, to whose religion they always belong. A small ethnic group of distinctively different racial appearance, is constituted by the Dards living in the extreme west of Ladak. Culturally they are Buddhists like the bulk of the population, but they are fair with blue eyes, and their features are those of the Nordics of Europe.

The language spoken in the whole of Ladak is a dialect of Tibetan, the characteristic of which is that it is more archaic in form than the Tibetan spoken in Lhasa, where the language has gone through a process of considerable evolution. Dogra is spoken by the ruling officials of the Kashmir State and the Dards have a tongue of their own, an Aryan language.

In physical appearance, the ordinary Ladaki men and women resemble their Tibetan cousins in that they have broad, mongoloid faces, slit eyes and black, straight hair. The men, however, have more hair on their faces that the average Tibetan can grow, and this is a distinctive characteristic. The masculine costume is the same as I have described earlier for Rupchu, and I should add that both sexes wear their hair long, but plaited at the back. Washing among the peasantry is resorted to very little, and the general appearance of the Ladakis is untidy and dirty, not to mention the fact that they smell strongly. When the weather gets chilly in the winter, or when a voyage to some other part of the country necessitates going through a colder area, more clothes are simply worn over those already on the body, and temperatures are measured by the number of gowns one is obliged to put on.

The houses of the peasants and of the majority of the inhabitants of Leh are solid structures built of stone in traditional Tibetan style. They are pleasant to look at with their flat roofs, white-washed walls and gaily painted doors and windows (the lower part of which is usually broader that the upper part), but they have the drawback of having a stable for the horses and mules on the ground floor, and no chimney in the kitchen, the smoke being allowed to find its own way out through the cracks and joints of the ceiling and roof.

24: Peter E-5 (1950-1957) 1963 AJ1 Tibet
West Tibetans AJ4

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Fig. 34. Lahuli women working in a field.

Fig. 35. The *chang* girl at the wedding in the Tolag-pa house, Lahul.

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Fig. 36. The author with Lobsang on his left seated among Rupchu nomads.

[p. 480-A]

24: Peter E-5 (1950-1957) 1963 AJ1 Tibet
West Tibetans AJ4

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Fig. 37. The Tok-Tok family: left to right: Lobsang, Ishe Döndrup, Stobgyes, Chungnid, Sonam Döndrup, Gon-po. Chungnid is holding Dok-pa in her arms.

Fig. 38. The Old-ldan family: left to right: P'hüntzok, Kumchok, Putit, Sonam with Sonam Putit in his arms, and Tsewang Putit.

[P. 480-B]

24: Peter E-5 (1950-1957) 1963 AJ1 Tibet AJ1
West Tibetans AJ4

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Fig. 41. The Bata section of the Tsong-k'har-pa family: left to right: Döndrup, Murup, Palkid, Ishe Paljor, the *porjag* of Shing-k'hang.

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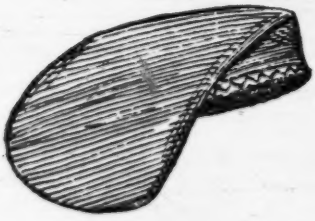
Fig. 42. Dorje Yöndron with her step-son and husband No. 2, Sönam Wang-chuk Dele Rabden Sä I, at Kalimpong.

[P. 480-D]

1₂ Drew G-S (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir W. Tibetans AJ4

181 and much given to truth-telling. The Ladākhīs, however, have by no means poor understandings; they are not muddle-headed, but will learn to understand clearly if given a fair time and opportunity. Major Godwin-Austen has with truth remarked that in one respect the Ladākhī writers far excel the munshīs, or writers, of India—that is, in the understanding of a map.

291 Their dress is simple; it is all woollen, of a coarse and thick, but not very closely-woven, home-made cloth, of a natural drab colour. The men wear a *choga*, or wide and long coat, folded over double in front, and confined at the waist by a woollen kamarband, or scarf. They wear nothing beneath this; with boots and cap, and may be an extra wrapper, their attire is complete. As to cap, there is an old and a new fashion. The old sort of cap, still a great deal worn, but chiefly in those parts that are out of the way of traffic from foreign countries, is of the peculiar form shown in the cut. The part that falls over, as far as I could make out, does no good to the wearer. The Kashmīrīs have an absurd story about these caps, that their origin was from the time when a force of Mughal soldiers from Kashmir, under Ibrāhīm Khān, came to help the Ladākh ruler against the Sokpo invaders. When this force was retiring, one of the troopers dropped his horse's *tobrā*, or nose-bag, which a Ladākhī, picking it up, wore for a cap; and the fashion was so much admired that it became general. The other sorts of head-dress are a jaunty skull-cap, which is the newer fashion, and a comfortable lamb-skin cap, with large ear-flaps, which in summer are stuck up behind in a curious way, but in winter they make the best possible protection against the severe cold. To the Ladākhī his boots are a matter of great importance. The stony ground, and in winter the biting snow, require precautions. A piece of thick leather makes the sole, and is moulded round for the sides of the feet as well; a felt or a cloth top is joined on to



LADĀKHĪ CAP.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

this, to reach above the ankle; the leg is further protected by felt gaiters, secured by a tape wound many times round. This *chaussure* is good against cold, and is not bad for rock-climbing where the ground is dry. 291

The women wear a gown, the skirt somewhat gathered into plaits, of vertical stripe of woollen cloth, generally blue and red alternately but sometimes patterned, sewn together. Over the shoulders is worn a kind of shawl, of sheepskin with the wool inside. For head-dress they have only a strip of cloth, ornamented with shells or with rough turquoises, from the forehead back over the middle of the head, and lappets of cloth edged with fur over the ears, but under the hair. They wear the same sort of shoes as the men. The dress of neither men nor women varies with the season of the year.

The only division of the Ladākhīs—the only caste division—is that the blacksmiths and the musicians belong to castes which are considered low; the blacksmith caste, I believe, being thought the lowest of all. These low castes are called *Bem*; with none of them will the ordinary Ladākhī intermarry. 564

The priesthood of Lāmās does not make a caste; the office is not hereditary. 793

CHĀMPĀS.

The Chāmpās inhabit the higher country—the valley of the Indus above the villages, the other plains, or flat-bottomed valleys, of Rupshu, and a few outlying places. 131

They are not very different from the Ladākhīs. Their different occupation would be sure to produce some changes; or rather, it should be said, probably, that the settled life of the inhabitants of the villages had changed these last from what their ancestors were, who lived the nomad life, and who now are represented by the Chāmpās. For it is likely that the course of events was this—that of the Tibetans, spreading north-westward, some reached a country they were able to settle in and to cultivate, while some remained in the higher parts, and kept to their pastoral ways. The difference in the face that struck me was that the Chāmpās have rather a projecting chin, while the 563 142 181

1; Drew G-S (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

142 Ladākhīs, as before said, have a receding one; the Chāmpās,
181 again, have a more expressive mouth. They are a most hardy and a most cheerful set of people. Living all their lives in a severely cold climate, and getting a scanty subsistence, they still have the best of spirits. When, after a day's journey, they collect round the scanty fire that is warming their evening meal, their merry laughter shows what a good heart they can keep in what, to strangers, seem to be the hardest of circumstances.
[22] Their lives are spent in tents; they stay for a month or two at a time in one spot, to graze their flocks and herds, and then they move with them whither the advancing season promises better pasture. Some few details of their way of living will be given when we come to describe the country itself which they frequent.

291 The dress of the Chāmpās is almost the same as that of the Ladākhīs, only that some of them wear the long wide coat of lamb-skin, instead of woollen cloth.

582 As a rule, the Chāmpās and Ladākhīs do not intermarry. The
563 religion of the two is the same, but it lies light on the Chāmpās.
162 Their young men do not become Lāmās. The number of these Chāmpās within this territory is very small; there are hardly more than a hundred families of them. Ethnologically they are not different from those who inhabit the next tracts to the south-east—country which is under the Government of Lhāsa.

COLONIES IN LADĀKH.

565 There are some families who come and go with the summer,
221 and a very few who have settled, of a race called *Khamba*. They are of the country named Kham, far to the east of Lhāsa. By what road they first came from their own country I know not, but now they reach the districts of Zāuskār and Rupshu from, strange to say, the side of India. They are of Tibetan race, and their language, though different from that of our Chāmpās, still can be understood by them. The Khamba are professional beggars, of a very vagrant disposition; they wander about some part of India in the cold months, and find their way up here in the summer,
565 subsisting by begging. It is strange that they should come to such

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ 4

green cultivation. Then the welcome halting place—a rest house for lunch, a famous monastery some hundred years old, a ruined castle as usual, and a further three miles on to a most picturesque monastery which is five hundred years old, and the entrance to the Leh valley. Here we left the river Indus, to make the gradual ascent over the now better road to Leh, which we could see some four miles in the distance, and which I must admit did not thrill me as we made towards it; we had passed on the way so many beautiful places that I expected to discover in Leh the jewel of them all. As we neared it we could make out on the hill the great, one hundred roomed palace of the ancient kings of Ladakh, and above that the enormous—in their spread—buildings of the monastery, and were duly impressed, though not overawed, for everything seems to be of the same earth stone colour, as though the buildings, which could be made in miniature with a child's box of bricks, have risen from the rocks like the commencement of an eruption which changed its mind, just as we had seen so many of them on our way, now decaying back to from whence they came.

But Leh is an important place, not only is it the capital of Ladakh, but it is also—and to the people of the country this is far more important—the religious capital of Western Tibet, besides being a great centre for caravans passing to and from Central Asia, the entrepôt of trade between India on the south, and Yarkand, Khotan and Tibet on the north and east. Here in the great bazaar which is held in the September month of each year. Traders from Turkistan, Siberia, Tibet and other parts of Central Asia come to buy, sell and barter their merchandise with those who have come from Kashmir and India, so that we found people of all races and religions there with Buddhism predominating, and a sprinkling of Mohammedans; a Moravian Mission is there also, and among the people are to be found numbers of Mohammedan half-castes known as Arghons; they are the offsprings of visiting traders and the women of the land "with whom they have made a temporary marriage".

The Ladakhis are Mongolian in features. Their ugly faces are soon forgotten though, since they possess a pronounced sense of humour and are always laughing, although their dirty stubby teeth then seen are not an enhancement to their beauty. Very

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir [illegible]

W. Tibetans AJ4

few are over five feet in height, and they appear to be compact, but this is not too easy to decide since the men wear very thick long-sleeved cloaks or chogas—much like dressing gowns tied round the waist with a leather girdle—loose trousers tucked in felt gaiters and boots; usually they wear woollen caps with ear flaps and their oiled, black pig-tail of hair hangs behind. The women wear long gowns like coat-frocks with full skirts, sheep-skin chogas and cloth caps which have ear flaps standing out. The best clothes kept for gala holidays have the head dress made of velvet, trimmed with fur edging and ornamented with large corals, turquoise and silver; their frocks are bright with trimmings of brilliant braids and scarves which tie in front—all the cloth is home spun; their "furs" consist of a short, gaily coloured cape trimmed on its edge with long, silken goat hair.

The younger women are quite good-looking, the skin is tight on their faces, and they have a fresh bloom upon their high cheek bones. None know their age, so that it is difficult to judge if they age rapidly or normally, though I have seen many mothers who looked old enough to be grandmothers and long past childbearing, with children tied to their backs. When once the skin slackens it rapidly becomes wrinkled and dark. It seems that they use as a cosmetic the bright yellow juice of a berry, which also acts as an astringent. I do not believe they ever wash it off; when it wears a bit they apply another coat.

The population consists of two communities, the Ladakhis proper and the Champas or nomads; there is no intermarriage between them. The Champas are the shepherds; they take their flocks of sheep and herds of goats to the upland valleys where they live in tents, very rarely does one become a monk; it is they with their wool who supply the principal commercial export product of the country. The Ladakhis are mostly engaged in agricultural pursuits, each family having its tiny portion of land. These people are poor by modern standards, living a simple life in a country which has not yet heard of the modern inventions and progress of the outside world. They plough the land with an animal called a zho, an ever-grunting beast which is a cross between a yak and a cow, the land being watered either by the river or by canal water. They grow barley, wheat, buckwheat, beans, peas and rape seed, and at the greater heights

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmir, W. Tibetans AJ4
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Photo by] [Vishu Nath

FOUR LADIES OF LADAKH.

On the head of the figure to the right notice the magnificent "rough" turquoises. These are probably an heirloom. The white cuffs worn by the next are parts of a thick shell.

[facing p 206]

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri W. Tibetans AJ4

A Trip to Ladakh

788 passers-by to pat them and make them revolve. In some villages they have huge prayer wheels worked by water, which pray automatically night and day, year in and year out for all the village. Lastly, you meet both men and women walking on the road carrying these wheels of metal, which they keep on the spin by the twist of the wrist, for a lead ball is attached to this cylinder by a metal chain, which adds considerable momentum. Some of these hand prayer wheels are beautifully ornamented with silverwork.

291 The people one meets are most picturesquely dressed.
293 The men and the women wear a long woollen garment
484 generally of red, but often of green or some other colour. The men have a leather girdle into which they stick a regular ironmonger's shop of goods, such as one or two knives, a brass opium pipe, a tinder-box, a metal purse, a long metal pen-box with metal inkpot attached, a whip of three thongs, the handle of which is always highly decorated with metal and paint, a cup for their tea and their porridge, and a bag of flour for their food on their journeys. The food is always most simple. They fill their cup with cold water, and then pour the flour into it and stir it with their first finger, and when it becomes a sort of watery paste they drink it. A most unappetising food it is, and gives them indiges-
778 tion continually. Most of them also add an ikon to their belt collection. It is an image of Buddha of silver or gold in a casket of some metal, and a pocket Communion set of copper or silver with much ornamentation.

782 The Tibetan Buddhists have a religious service in
177 which they use bread and cider. It is said that this religious service came from China through the Nestorian Christians, for there is a tradition that St Thomas introduced Christianity into China.

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca.1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri W. Tibetans AJ4

A Trip to Ladakh

782 This pocket set is a most neat and clever arrangement, for the paten and stand are so made that they fit beautifully into the metal pot which is the chalice. Every Buddhist can be his own priest and give the Elements to himself.

291 293 Many wear a chatelaine attached to their leather belt, on which hang most of the things mentioned, and thus their belt is left free for other goods and chattels. Their shoes are generally felt top-boots, often of gaudy colours.

The head-dress is a cloth cap, not infrequently of the same colour as their dress, but I am not able to describe it as I have never seen anything like it; it is perhaps a little like a Balaclava cap or a helmet with flaps. It is 291 most picturesque and odd-looking. The whole costume 301 seems to suit the Mongol features excellently, especially 302 with the long pigtail hanging down the back, which always covers the back of the cloak with black grease. The women dress much like the men, only their head-dress is different. They wear a "pirak"—that is, a piece of red cloth about six or eight inches wide, which starts from the forehead and continues down the back nearly to the waist. It is covered with rows of precious stones, chiefly rough pieces of turquoise, and silver ornaments. This system of carrying their wealth on their heads shows how honest these people are. Then on each side of the face, and sewn on to this strip of cloth, are two pieces of astrakhan, which are made to stick out at right angles to the face some six inches, like black wings. Altogether it is most becoming.

562 The women in this country are not "purdah," and are treated on equal terms with the men. It is most refreshing. They are not the least shy or bold. They are just their smiling jolly selves, like their menfolk.

000 I have mentioned a few pages previously that on enter-

2: Biscoe M-3 (1880-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans AJ4

A Trip to Ladakh

574 grand folk dressed in most weird costumes, uncommonly like a well-got-up pantomime.

574 There were men dressed in Chinese silks, with their
291 smart blue and gold caps with tassels, Ladakhi officials
793 of various grades, from the Joint-Commissioner, a fine-looking Mohammedan, to his fat babu who sat on his pony like a monkey, his stirrups being so short that his knees and fat stomach met. But the figure which took my fancy was the church dignitary; he resembled for all the world Cardinal Wolsey risen from the dead. He wore a scarlet cloak which fell over the pony's back and almost touched the ground, and he sported ye old cardinal's hat. I never saw him smile, which was in contrast to all the others, who seemed to be out for a holiday. Whether he was upset about not having his proper position in the cavalcade, or whether he had the stomach-ache is uncertain, or maybe his cardinal's hat was uncomfortable. It certainly was hardly the sort of hat I should have chosen to ride in. Perhaps his dignity did not allow him to show his feelings. Anyway, everybody except the cardinal seemed to be in good fettle after their morning's ride. We all fell into some sort of order and rode for the capital.

361 You can see Leh from some miles distant as it is
574 built up the side of the rocks, with the palace and
533 monastery towering above. Leh is 11,700 feet above
526 sea-level, so one needs a little time in which to get acclimatised.

When we arrived through the fine gateway into the main street we found both sides lined with H.H. the Maharajah's troops and the crowds of citizens behind them. The monastery band was in full view on the roof of one
574 of the buildings and made the usual joyful sound. This
526 main street of shops has a fine avenue of poplar-trees,